

**Protecting Animals and People: The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Animal
Cruelty Investigation Work**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Justice and Equity Studies

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St. Catharines, Ontario

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Abstract

Animal cruelty investigation work in Canada has typically been the responsibility of humane societies and/or SPCAs (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), charities that are mandated to enforce government legislation. This unusual model is unique to investigations into crimes against animals. Manitoba offers an alternative approach with a publicly-funded and public-private hybrid delivery model. Through an examination of Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office which oversees investigations, this thesis considers the multi-species implications of this kind of publicly-funded animal cruelty investigations. More specifically, it assesses the benefits and drawbacks that the approach has for animals, their owners, and animal protection officers. Using the lenses of engaged theory, interspecies solidarity, and multi-optic vision, and by building from textual sources and interview data, this thesis describes and analyses animal cruelty investigation work in Manitoba and considers the role the public sector could have in improving animal protection work in Canada.

Keywords: humane jobs; public sector; animal protection; workers' rights; multi-species well-being

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without a supportive community of faculty, friends, family, and participants. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to these individuals who surrounded me and poured love into me during this process.

To my supervisor, Dr. Kendra Coulter, I am forever grateful for your guidance and friendship in both this project, and in all my academic endeavors. Kendra, it is your passion for multi-species justice that first established my interest in critical animal studies at Brock. With every revision, scholarship application, and conference presentation during this degree, you have allowed me to see my potential and value in the world of academia. All for which I am truly grateful. I consider myself truly blessed to have the opportunity to work closely with you in developing interspecies scholarship. Without your patience and support, I would not be here today.

I am also incredibly thankful for my committee members, Dr. Kate Bezanson and Dr. Lauren Corman. Your individual scholarship has structured my work and my being. I am honoured to have learned from you as an undergraduate student, but also work with you throughout this degree. Thank you for your time and devotion to this project.

I am very grateful to my best friend and dog, Ryder, who laboured alongside me during this entire process. From lying next to me for hours while writing, to making sure I took breaks to play, Ryder was crucial to the success of this project as well as to my emotional well-being. This bond inspires my current and future scholarship in interspecies justice.

To my parents and sister who have constantly been a source of light and perseverance during the past two years. Thank you for grounding me, pushing me out of my comfort zone, and for reminding me of what I am capable of. Thank you for never letting me give up on my dreams.

To all my friends and peers near or far. Thank you for the memories, for your friendship and for your encouragement along the way. I love you all! B.M., S.H., R.C., J.H., K.T., K.S., B.N., S.R., T.M.

Finally, to my research participants, the voice of this project. Thank you for all the work that you do. This thesis is for you.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In late January 2019, the leadership of the Edmonton Humane Society announced that as of February 1st, its organization would no longer enforce the province's Animal Protection Act. Not long after, the CEO of the Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (OSPCA) announced that the agency would be withdrawing its provincial enforcement work. These announcements are reflective of a larger conversation taking place about whose responsibility it is to enforce public animal welfare and cruelty laws.

In most Canadian provinces, the enforcement work is the primary responsibility of non-profit/charitable organizations like humane societies and SPCAs. These organizations originated in the 19th century in England, the United States, and Canada, out of a desire to address cruelty to working horses (Beers, 2006; Coulter, 2016). Within the first few decades of its configuration, the SPCA confronted a variety of issues including, but not limited to, the treatment of animals on farms, vivisection, shelters for stray cats and dogs, as well as hundreds of cruelty convictions for both farm and companion animals (Beers, 2006). To adequately fund this work, humane organizations charged high membership dues, thus targeting those from the middle and upper classes for support (Beers, 2006). Coulter (2016) explains that “given the breadth and depth of poverty at the time, most people would simply not have been able to afford such fees” (p.103).

Today, as charities, humane societies and SPCAs continue to operate with limited resources. This lack of financial stability contributes to difficult working conditions for front-line officers who conduct provincially mandated animal cruelty investigations through these organizations. This is noteworthy as the working conditions of enforcement officers not only negatively affect these human workers but also the animals they seek to help (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016, 2019).

In contrast, Manitoba offers a somewhat different approach to animal cruelty investigation work. A Chief Veterinary Office (CVO) exists to oversee the welfare of both the province's companion and farmed animals. Having a Chief Veterinarian is common across provinces, but Manitoba's CVO has more robust and multi-faceted responsibilities. Manitoba's CVO works to protect "animals, food and people by upholding several Manitoba laws related to animal welfare, animal health and food safety" ("About the Chief Veterinary Office (CVO)," n.d.). The CVO seeks to protect the public from spreadable animal diseases and secure the province's food supply through regular inspections and public education. It also coordinates human and animal welfare control measures in the event of an emergency and provides a diagnostic services laboratory. Notably, the CVO also employs, appoints, and funds animal cruelty officers who work to ensure compliance with Manitoba's Animal Care Act. In other words, cruelty investigations in Manitoba are publicly funded. Therefore, in theory, this public approach should provide more resources to respond to and thoroughly investigate reports of animal cruelty in comparison to charity-based models.

Despite it being one of the only Canadian provinces to provide public funding for animal protection work, there is limited data and scholarship on Manitoba's CVO. My research thus helps provide baseline information and allows us to further examine how public funding and services are being allocated to protect animals in the province. I seek to build understanding of the CVO and assess whether and/or how it fosters humane jobs and interspecies solidarity. Accordingly, the objectives of my research are:

- 1) to examine the CVO's work and workers to understand both in more detail, and

- 2) to identify what lessons they can offer other jurisdictions about the role of public policy and public-sector workers in the promotion of humane jobs, animal welfare, and workers' rights.

My research is motivated by concern for three key groups: animals, front-line workers, and vulnerable social groups. All of these groups are poised to benefit from strengthened and properly funded cruelty investigations.

Rationale

Most 'Western' visions and projects of social justice have been anthropocentric and have given primacy to human issues. However, a growing number of scholars and advocates are asking important questions about what it means to recognize that just societies should include species other than humans (e.g., Coulter, 2016; Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Smith, 2012). This interest in social justice for non-human animals can be rooted in a range of ethical and political arguments rooted in the recognition of animals as sentient beings who are worthy of consideration based on their inherent worth (e.g. Balcombe, 2016; Regan, 1990; Singer, 1990). An expanded and multispecies web of social justice can also stem from the fact that human and animal well-being is linked (Akhtar, 2012; Coulter, 2016). Independently, non-human animals hold intrinsic value. However, because animals are central to the lives of human beings, the way animals are treated directly affects our own health and welfare. In other words, there are many compelling reasons to take animals seriously in visions and projects of social justice.

Some scholars and advocates propose that animals should be more socially valued and therefore should be entitled to goods and services in the public sector that are typically only awarded to human beings (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Kymlicka, 2017). Researchers further

suggest that animal beings are already part of our communities and societies, and therefore it is our responsibility to create policies and allocate resources for their care (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Rock & Degeling, 2013; Travers, Degeling, & Rock, 2017). In a similar vein, my research is situated at the intersections of public policy and work.

Indeed, work is central to the construction and reproduction of social identities (Sanders, 2010), yet for many, work is infused with negative connotations and unpleasant experiences. What is now called precarious employment (meaning low wages, little to no benefits, and a lack of fulfilment) has long been the norm for many women and racialized people; and, in the neoliberal capitalist era, has become even more common (Lewchuk, Clarke, & de Wolff, 2011). Many jobs working with and/or for animals are precarious for people and even worse for animals. For instance, “[f]or-profit industries producing commodities for human consumption are where and why the largest numbers of animals are killed and subjected to short lives of intense suffering” (Coulter, 2016, p.67).

In contrast, Coulter (2017) identifies areas of work that involve both humans and animals which could be thoughtfully expanded to foster the health and well-being of both humans and other animals. Specific to my area of research, Coulter (2017) notes: “[i]f people in animal care sectors, cruelty investigations, and so on, feel materially and experientially respected and are working in the most efficacious ways, they benefit from a positive working life, but so too do animals” (p.38). In this sense, respecting humans by taking care of their needs (i.e., better pay, better hours, a stronger worker-employer relationship, etc.), these workers will be better equipped to help the animals with/for whom they work. Furthermore, “[j]obs with animals that are materially more comfortable and secure are primarily in the public sector and are often unionized” (Coulter, 2016, p.26). Therefore, by investing public resources into animal health

care and animal cruelty work, organizations such as Manitoba's CVO could help foster humane jobs that will benefit both humans and animals. Therefore, through this research, I aim to examine the efficacy, strengths, and limitations of Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office and to consider the prospects for using investment and organizations of this kind elsewhere to create more humane jobs and better protect animals.

This research is particularly timely and important given the larger social discussions about whether animal cruelty work that is privatized or contracted out to charities adequately supports and protects animal protection officers/investigators, or is best serving animals (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016). Research has made clear that investigators have very large workloads, inadequate resources, and cannot reach as many animals as necessary (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016). Furthermore, given the sensitive nature of animal cruelty investigation work, animal protection workers experience secondary stress and compassion fatigue that heavily impacts their well-being and their ability to continue in their jobs (Arluke, 2004; Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019).

Moreover, animal cruelty exists on a spectrum and must be understood in context. There are egregious examples of violent criminal behaviour that warrant appropriate responses. But animal cruelty investigations also uncover child and intimate-partner abuse, poverty, people with mental health challenges, and other complex social issues (Coulter, 2019a). As a result, the suffering and struggles of humans who share intimate spaces with animals are also salient when exploring ways to improve animal cruelty investigations.

Additionally, after conducting a provincial survey examining the future of animal cruelty investigations in Ontario, Coulter (2019a) reports that: "95% [of respondents] see the fact that animals are sentient beings who deserve to live without pain and suffering as an important reason to improve enforcement" (p.15). Notably, "90% see animal cruelty investigations as a public

responsibility” (p.15). For all of these reasons, analysis of Manitoba’s public enforcement model and what lessons it offers about the prospects for improving the working conditions for human workers and providing stronger enforcement for animals who need protection, is of great value.

Key Concepts and Terminology

Language can play a role in alleviating or perpetuating marginalization of both human and animal groups. Moreover, words have various meanings across cultures, geography, and throughout history that aid to their development and impact. Therefore, the following section lists and defines terms used frequently in this paper to generate a singular explanation of these terms as applicable to the goal of this project.

Animals

The term *animal* is used primarily to reference companion animals (e.g., dogs and cats) as they remain the focus of this research. The terms animal and companion animals are often used interchangeably to acknowledge the species owned as pets that qualify for legal protection under Manitoba’s Animal Care Act. For a number of actions that cause pain, livestock or farmed animals (i.e., cows, pigs, chickens, etc.) are legally separated from companion animals. As is common in many jurisdictions, the Animal Care Act exempts ‘normal’ agricultural industry practices from the category of abuse. I will identify their specific category as *farmed* or *livestock animals* when discussing these kinds of animals.

Furthermore, like animals, certain groups of humans have experienced injustice from the exploitative systems based on their gender, race, sexuality, culture, class, religion, and/or disability, and thus have not always been accepted into the sphere of moral and legal concern

(Deckha, 2015). Kheel (2008) also explains that the term animal is often used while neglecting to understand that humans are also animals, which further enhances the human/non-human animal divide. To recognize this joint relationship while also distinguishing species for the purpose of this thesis, I use terms like *people*, *humans*, *officers*, *investigators*, and so forth to refer to *Homo Sapiens*, and refer to non-human animals as *animals*, or by their specific species' name or group.

Animal cruelty

Typically, animal cruelty protection legislation in North America has defined animal cruelty as any 'unnecessary suffering' inflicted on animals (Arluke, 2006). However, this definition is problematic as the term 'unnecessary' creates loopholes for types of violence to animals. For the purpose of this thesis, I am focusing on cruelty deemed illegal by the Animal Care Act to be explored further below. Care and cruelty are connected, and the deprivation of care is considered illegal.

Furthermore, pets are very important in the lives of humans, and legally defined animal abuse is not always intentional, but rather the result of a lack of financial resources and/or unaddressed human mental health concerns (Arluke 2004, 2006; Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). This does not mean that the animal is not suffering, but rather re-affirms the importance of context and of situating animal cruelty in relation to larger socioeconomic dynamics, social programs, and so forth.

Animal protection officers

This research concentrates on front-line workers who investigate suspected animal cruelty. In Manitoba, these cruelty investigations officers are called Animal Protection Officers

(APOs). In this context, animal protection officers are different from animal control officers, the staff or contracted individuals responsible for enforcing municipal by-laws involving animals (strays, injured animals, etc.). I focus on the officers responsible for investigating animal welfare and cruelty complaints and enforcing *provincial* law. In this research, I refer to these workers as APOs, officers, and investigators to legitimize and affirm these workers and the important enforcement work they do. These officers and their work-lives remain the focus of my research in determining the ability of publicly-funded animal protection workers.

Interspecies solidarity and humane jobs

The term *solidarity* has typically been associated with the labour movement and has historically only been afforded to human beings. Coulter (2016) reveals that “solidarity is underscored by ideas of empathy. In contrast to sympathy or pity, empathy is about understanding and legitimizing the experiences of others. Solidarity, thus involves support despite differences” (p.150). The concept of *interspecies solidarity* helps us to rethink our relationships with animals and determine our society’s obligation for future protection and care of other species. This concept is frequently enlisted (and encouraged) throughout this research.

An extension of interspecies solidarity is Coulter’s concept of *humane jobs*: work that benefits both people and animals. The idea of humane jobs animates this research. This concept provides inspiration for transforming the future of animal cruelty investigations, by recognizing the importance of maintaining the well-being of both the animals, and the APOs who do this work.

Positionality and Ethical Commitments

My experience as a woman and as an animal advocate initiated my interest in this research. Women have been central to animal protection and rights movements (Adams, 1990; Gaarder, 2011; Peek, Bell & Dunham, 1996). As Gaarder (2011) notes, “cultural discourses regarding sex and gender shape the way women activists interpret their own activism, and the predominance of women in the movement” (p.54). Furthermore, the marginalization of both women and animals helps explain women’s participation in animal rights advocacy (Adams, 1990; Gaarder, 2011). Research shows that most women in animal rights advocacy in North America are white, but this is slowly changing (Gaarder, 2011; Jamison, 1998). I also recognize that most paid and unpaid animal care work is conducted by women (Coulter, 2016, 2017; Gaarder, 2011). Therefore, through conducting this research as a white woman, an animal advocate, and a scholar of labour, I am aiding in scholarship that could help improve working conditions for women, while also helping them to provide the best possible care to animals. In the way that Adams (1990) acknowledges the continuity between feminism and vegetarianism, I address the link between inclusive feminism and animal rights advocacy in pursuit of advocacy that confronts oppressive power that inhibit both subordinate groups.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter synthesizes scholarly research most central to this project. These literatures focus on the link between human and animal well-being, animals in public policy, and the shared experiences for workers in both the fields of veterinary medicine and animal cruelty investigation.

The first section of this chapter outlines existing knowledge of the physical, mental, and emotional benefits that companion animal ownership has on both people and their pets. Additionally, this section discusses how the human-animal connection makes both groups vulnerable to shared abuse, otherwise known as the violence link.

In that regard, the second section focuses on existing policy which extend to animals including disaster protocol, pet-assisted therapy, and One Health initiatives to promote the need for further inclusion of animals in policy efforts to consider the health and well-being of humans and animals alike.

The third section of this chapter compares literature of the similar experiences that workers face in the veterinary field and animal cruelty protection work such as gender inequality, emotion work, and high rates of mental health issues that affect both worker and animal well-being.

Human and Animal Well-being Linkages

Over the past decade, pet ownership in North America has increased dramatically, and more people see their companion animals as members of their family (Slatter, Lloyd & King, 2012). Recent literature explores the positive and negative implications of the human-animal

relationship that is continually evolving. This literature considers the benefits and disadvantages of pet ownership for the well-being of both humans and animals.

Positive effects of human-animal interaction

The positive impact of companion animals on human health has been well-established and documented. Reduced stress, better emotional well-being, and higher self-esteem have been identified as the most common emotional health benefits of pet ownership (Anderson, Lord, Hill, & McCune, 2015; McConnell, Brown, Shoda, Stayton, & Martin, 2011; McNicholas & Collis 2000; Siegel, 2011; Slatter et al., 2012). In relation to mental health, pet owners with mental illness are more likely to engage with their community than those without pets (Zimolag & Krupa, 2009), lessening isolation and improving their mental and emotional well-being. Pet ownership also has significant physical health benefits as pet owners are more likely to be physically active. For instance, in their study of patients with cardiovascular disease and companion animals, Hernandorena et al. (2014) confirm that exercise with their dogs kept participants healthy and further motivated to take care of themselves.

Aside from pet ownership, Anderson (2008) explains that simple animal interactions “have been shown in research to reduce blood pressure, lower cholesterol, improve recovery from cardiovascular disease, increase exercise, forestall symptoms of Alzheimer’s disease, and prevent acute health crises, such as seizures and panic attacks” (p.121). This is one reason for the expansion of animal-assisted therapy programs across the global north. These health benefits are not unique to the human beings either. Research has found that petting an animal reduces blood pressure in both humans and animals, thereby benefiting both groups (Cronley, Strand, Patterson, & Gwaltney, 2009; Slatter et al., 2012; Walsh, 2009).

Mutual benefits of pet ownership for both human and animal is particularly noteworthy for the senior/elderly population. Pets often serve as substitute companions for older adults when their friends and spouses die; animals can also help human owners cope with stressful experiences associated with such loss (Anderson, Lord, Hill, & McCune, 2015; Miltiades & Shearer, 2011). Furthermore, as Anderson et al. (2015) explain, “[t]here are many older adults who feel that they could benefit from pet ownership and there are far too many shelter animals in need of adoption” (p.33). This research suggests that integration of the aging population and companion animals can alleviate negative experiences of both groups. In this sense, such companionship is beneficial and increases well-being in the lives of both human and animal.

Similarly, companion animals also serve an important role in mitigating negative experiences faced by the low-income/unhoused population. The act of taking care of an animal is shown to improve mental health and prevent substance abuse for low income and homeless pet owners (Cronley et al., 2009). Having a companion animal provides low-income or unhoused individuals with a sense of purpose and feelings that they are wanted/needed (Irvine, 2013). Caring for an animal provides homeless people with an increased sense of responsibility, motivation, and routine (Slatter et al., 2012). Additionally, research suggests that caring for an animal encourages good decision making (Rew, 2000; Slatter et al., 2012). Animal companionship is also believed to be an opportunity for homeless individuals to “build the skills required to reintegrate into mainstream society” (Slatter et al., 2012, p.381) reaffirming how important the human-animal relationship is for low-income and homeless people.

The relationship between homeless individuals and their animals is so strong because their companion animals may be their only source of love and companionship (Cronley et al., 2009; Kidd & Kidd, 1994). Homeless people are frequently isolated from the rest of society

which limits their social interaction. Moreover, Irvine (2013) argues that “the nonjudgmental attention one receives from an animal can provide a welcome change from the everyday experiences of the homeless, for whom *not* mattering is a common plight” (p.100, emphasis in original). In many cases, having a pet has increased a person’s interaction with other members of society. Research by Irvine, Kahl, and Smith (2012) confirms that “[s]trangers will initiate a conversation with a person accompanied by a dog where they would not do so with a person alone” (p.27). In fact, some homeless people even have pets to encourage social interaction (Anderson, Snow, & Cress, 1994; Irvine et al., 2012). A respondent in Slatter et al. (2012) study contends that pet ownership helps to create friendships. Thus, having another living being who shares a reciprocal relationship is important for the overall well-being of the homeless community.

With all the evidence supporting the positive links between humans and animals, even physicians are utilizing animal therapies as legitimate health care remedies for reducing both mental and physical ailments, thus improving overall health and well-being for human patients (Anderson, 2008; Ein, Li, & Vickers, 2018). Although the research clearly shows that human and animal health and well-being are positively linked, there is also some research which identifies how this connection can be exploited by abusers, particularly in the domestic sphere.

Links of violence in the human-animal relationship

A significant body of interdisciplinary research has identified a strong connection between violence against humans and animals. Merz-Perez and Heide (2004) explain that “extensive literature on serial killers, for example, has often cited cruelty to animals as a precursor to the violence later targeted against human victims” (p.151). Additionally, Gullone

(2016) argues that “[a]lmost without exception, the perpetrators of animal cruelty crimes are the same individuals who engage in other aggressive or antisocial behavior including partner and child abuse, and bullying” (p.289-291).

Clearly the abuse of animals and humans are linked (Arluke, Levin, Luke, & Ascione, 1999). In fact, some studies suggest a progression from animal abuse in childhood to human violence as an adult (Merz-Perez & Heide, 2004; Tiplady, Walsh, & Phillips, 2012; Zilney, 2007). Despite the varied results of such studies, Merz-Perez and Heide (2004) argue that “[t]o dismiss cruelty to animals as incidental acts committed by troubled kids is to dismiss an opportunity to identify behaviour that might indeed be a precursor of violence against humans” (p.154).

The most common connection between animal and human abuse is the link between companion animal and spousal abuse, particularly women in intimate partner relationships. Tiplady et al. (2012), claim that “[d]omestic violence is traditionally understood as an abuse of power between intimate partners, although recently it has been expanded to include other family members” (p. 48). Threats of abuse and the act of abuse against companion animals have been used against women as part of their victimization within domestic violence partnerships in a variety of studies internationally (Adams, 1994; Ascione, Walker, & Wood, 1997; Fitzgerald, 2007; Flynn, 2000; Simmons & Lehmann, 2007; Volant, Johnson, Gullone, & Coleman, 2008). As Walsh (2014) explains, “women’s attachment to companion animals can render them vulnerable targets for violence, and the targeting of animals is one of a number of mechanisms used to exert power and control over some women” (p.222). This research suggests that animal abuse is not just a predictor of future human abuse, but rather they synonymous and often appear together.

Furthermore, through the human-animal bond, women often risk their own safety in violent domestic relationships where companion animals are involved (Walsh, 2014). Women can delay leaving dangerous domestic violence situations due to their worry about their animals, and sometimes return to such situations out of the same fear (Flynn, 2000; Simmons & Lehmann, 2007; Tiplady et al., 2012; Zilney, 2007). Additionally, women in violent situations often delay or refuse to use domestic violence shelters or services if/when these services do not accommodate companion animals, thereby requiring women to separate from their pets (Akhtar, 2012; Carlisle-Frank & Flanagan, 2006; Tiplady et al., 2012; Zilney, 2007).

Understandably, “[h]arm to companion animals can cause tremendous grief and anxiety in those who care for them” (Akhtar, 2012, p.34). Notably, research shows that animals themselves experience behavioural and physical effects as a result of witnessing and/or experiencing domestic violence. For instance, in their research study on Australian women who experienced animal abuse in a violent domestic relationship, Tiplady et al. (2012) reveal that 85% of respondents reported their animals as having behaviour changes including cowering, becoming timid, running away, hiding, aggression, and being fearful of all men in domestic violence situations. Flynn (2009) contends that animals experience physical manifestations of stress while witnessing abuse that are similar to symptoms in humans including “shivering or shaking, cowering, hiding, and urinating” (p.118). As the human-animal bond is so strong, this research shows that both human and animals experience the same reactions to instances of violence whether they themselves are being abused, or they witness their companion facing abuse.

To combat such problems, research has suggested the integration of social efforts that protect both humans and animals experiencing violence (e.g. Akhtar, 2012; Gullone, 2016;

Merz-Perez & Heide, 2004). In relation to domestic relationships involving companion animals, Akhtar (2012) suggests that “protecting and securing the safety of animals may provide comfort for their human caretakers and help battered women, who might otherwise hesitate to leave their abuser out of concern for their animal companions, escape their abuse” (p.47). Including animals into the discussion of victims of domestic violence and helping them find refuge along with their human owners is beneficial for the well-being of both human and animal. Additionally, Akhtar (2012) identifies that “[p]roviding incentives for women and children to leave violent households earlier by offering combined human-animal shelters not only help all victims (human and animal) but may also help break the cycle of violence” (p.39). In this sense, looking out for the best interest of both humans and animals in abusive situations can provide immediate safety, as well as work to eradicate future violence from occurring as “[c]hildren who abuse animals are most often from dysfunctional and/or violent families, where they are frequently witness to, or victims of, domestic violence” (Akhtar, 2012, p.39). Although anthropocentric in nature, ensuring the health and safety of companion animals can interrupt the cycle of abuse and ensure the health and well-being of both humans and non-human animals.

With frequent instances of human and animal abuse co-occurring in domestic relationships, Akhtar (2013) argues, “if there were greater coordination on animal protection between public health, veterinary social services, together we might increase detection of all forms of violence and thwart future acts of violence” (p.7). Historically, animal and human agencies have often worked together; however, in the past century, human and animal health and social service agencies have separated, which has resulted in insufficient cross-reporting between agencies, thereby leaving both humans and animals more vulnerable to abuse (Akhtar, 2012). As a result, there are growing calls from academics, advocates, and front-line workers for cross-

training and cross-reporting between human and animal agencies that work to eradicate abuse (Zilney & Zilney, 2005). Gullone (2016) explains that “[s]uch cross-reporting would involve reporting suspected animal cruelty not only to animal welfare organizations, but also to the police force and human service agencies such as child protective services and adult protective services” (p.291).

Collaboration between human and animal agencies can help combat violence and promote the well-being of humans and animals. Much of the existing research focuses on reporting animal abuse to human agencies, as animals tend to come second to human beings. However, Manitoba’s CVO, being a public office focused on the well-being of animals, has the potential to uncover abuse experienced by human that are not being addressed by current human agencies. As Akhtar (2012) explains, “[i]t makes sense that laws designed to protect one group could be used to protect the other, since in both cases the abused are utterly powerless to protect themselves” (p.28). Therefore, this research may aid in this area of study to further develop possibilities for protecting both humans and animals experiencing violence and distress.

Animals and Public Policy

Humans and animals share a complex relationship, and scholars are beginning to recognize that public policy should provide greater support and protection for animals (Chaney, 2014; Thompson, 2013, 2018). Typically, policy has focused on managing animals, while the *well-being* of non-human has not been considered a high priority. As Garner (2010) explains, “it is widely accepted that we owe some moral obligations to animals, but the interests of humans, it is commonly argued, must come first” (p.123). In this sense, the political sphere has generally remained anthropocentric (Garner, 2010). Fortunately, more recently, animals are being

identified as a group worthy of representation in public policy in certain instances (von Essen & Allen, 2017; Chaney, 2014). Indeed, Thompson (2018) argues that the rights of animals should be considered in policy efforts not only because of their connection to human beings, but also because non-human animals have intrinsic value and thus matter regardless of their relationship to humans.

Most of the scholarly literature on animals in public policy focuses on three areas: emergency and disaster protocols, pet-assisted therapy, and One Health initiatives in public health. These bodies of research examine how animals are both viewed and treated in the political sphere.

Disaster protocol

Research on emergency response and planning is increasing and expanding rapidly, in large part out of necessity. Extreme weather, fires, and other symptoms of climate change are worsening. Within this larger literature, there is a small but growing collection of multispecies research which considers how people's relationships with animals affect emergency responses.

Several studies have found that because of the intricate bond between humans and animals, there are risks to humans when pet owners/animal caretakers are unwilling to leave animals behind (Chadwin, 2017; Thompson, 2018; Travers et al., 2017; White, 2012; Wooten, 2017). Many pet owners also re-enter an evacuation site to rescue their pets, placing themselves and others in significant danger (Chadwin, 2017; Irvine, 2006; Trigg, Smith, Bennett, & Thompson, 2017). Furthermore, "[h]ealth care workers may refuse to work if their animals are in danger, leaving medical facilities understaffed during crises" (p.1413), thus further endangering both human and animal lives. Such failure to evacuate and follow emergency protocol puts

“citizens and emergency responders at increased risk for injury and death” (Travers et al., 2017, p.334). In this sense, taking care of non-human animals in emergencies is crucial to the health and well-being of humans. As Thompson (2018) explains:

[A]nimals can affect how humans are impacted by natural disasters, how they respond to such events and how well they recover from them. For this reason alone, there is a pressing need to keep animals safe before, during and after natural disasters, and to do so in ways that contribute to, rather than compromise, human safety (p.223-24).

Currently, some active emergency and disaster policies do exist in response to natural disasters to limit harm to both humans and non-human animals. For example, in response to Hurricane Katrina, Travers et al. (2017) explain how the U.S. federal government implemented the Pets Evacuation and Transportation Standards Act, which states “that to qualify for federal emergency funding, a city or state must submit a plan detailing its preparedness program, including how it will accommodate households with companion animals or service animals” (p.325-326). After bushfires in Victoria, Australia in 2009, the state government implemented the Victorian Emergency Animal Welfare Plan, which “sets out animal welfare services during an emergency, roles and responsibilities, and operating principles” (White, 2012, p.384).

Although the lives of non-human animals are being considered in some emergency protocol efforts, there are still some challenges. For example, following the 2011 tsunami in Japan, people who evacuated with their pets were refused entry to communal shelters, forcing many people to choose between abandoning their companion animals and having a safe place to reside (Thompson, 2018). People who lose their animals or must abandon them due to natural disasters often experience grief and trauma, which negatively affect their physical and emotional well-being (Akhtar, 2012; Smith, 2012; Thompson, 2013, 2018). These existing approaches to animal safety during emergencies acknowledge and support the strong link between human and

animal well-being, and that there is more work to be done in terms of research, planning, and policy development.

Pet-assisted therapy

A distinct but linked body of research examines the intersections of animals and public health, particularly regarding pet-assisted therapy programs. This literature considers the human-animal bond and mutual well-being through stronger program policies.

Multiple studies on human health have identified the positive impact non-human animals have on the physical and mental health of human beings (see, for example, Friese & Nuyts, 2017; Wells, 2009), and there has been a recent increase of animal assisted therapy in schools, hospitals, and eldercare facilities. Unfortunately, not all animal-therapy organizations (which are generally non-profits) have defined policy regarding animals and their handlers (Linder et al., 2017). Facilities that host patients also lack proper policy regarding animal visitation, the safety and well-being of animals, their handlers, and the clients receiving care (Linder et al., 2017), not to mention the working conditions of the animals. In an effort to integrate existing research with human health initiatives, pet-assisted therapy programs are re-considering policy and protocol to promote and protect the well-being of all humans and animals involved.

One Health intervention

In recent years, research on the concept of One Health has been developed as the linkages between human and animal health have become more apparent. Early One Health concentrated solely on the impact animals have on human health. However, more recently, One Health research has evolved to question the impact human beings have on the health and well-being of

animal, and multispecies health entanglements. Scholars have begun examining the importance of integrating human and animal health to improve not only physical health, but also the emotional and mental well-being of each group, simultaneously. These processes have been of interest to scholars and practitioners alike.

One Health's precursor, One Medicine, sought to integrate both human and veterinary medicine as humans and non-human animals not only experience similar diseases and ailments, but also transfer diseases; these are known as zoonoses (Hanrahan, 2014). Although the concept of One Medicine was popular in the 19th century, collaborative efforts between both human-focused and veterinary medicine diminished in the 20th century and conceptual silos were formed (Hanrahan, 2014; Kahn, Kaplan & Steele, 2007). Nevertheless, One Medicine has continued to be recognized by government agencies, health organizations and stakeholders as being an important component in maintaining both human and animal welfare.

The One Medicine concept has since been reformulated into the One Health Initiative, an umbrella term seeking to address the human and animal health in the realms of veterinary medicine, environmental health, and public health ("About the One Health Initiative", n.d.). Overall, One Health can be understood as "the collaborative effort between professions and disciplines working locally, nationally, and globally to attain optimal health for people, animals, and the environment" (Courtenay et al., 2015, p.641). Like One Medicine, the primary focus of One Health has been the prevention of zoonotic diseases by monitoring food production and veterinary care of livestock (Das, 2015; Holden, 1999; Kingsley & Taylor, 2017; LaVallee, Mueller, & McCobb, 2017). However, more recently, One Health has expanded to consider how the social relationship between both species contribute to their shared emotional and psychological health.

Indeed, taking care of the physical health of humans and animals is important, but so, too, is mental and emotional health which is crucial to the overall well-being of every society. As Akhtar (2017) explains:

When the subject of animals does enter discourse in public health, for example, it is usually to highlight how animals are sources of infection for and cause injuries to humans. Very rarely, however, is there any discussion about how human relationships with animals—and specifically, how we treat animals—are linked with so many of the public health issues we face today (p.106).

In relation to zoonoses that can infect both animals and humans, Kahn (2006) argues that the “medical and veterinary communities should work closely together in clinical, public health, and research settings” (p. 556). However, as One Health claims to ensure the well-being of both humans and animals, mental and emotional health of humans should also be considered in both prevention and treatment of factors that impact both human and animal health. Courtney et al. (2015) argue that with a One Health model in mind, officials and policy makers should address the needs of non-human animals in their relation to human health as “[p]ets have become a major source of social and emotional support and often play a significant role in vulnerable populations, such as the homeless” (p.641). Research suggests that by adopting policy, protocol, and services for addressing the emotional and mental health needs of the community, the One Health model could provide *optimal* health for all people, animals, and the environment (Akhtar, 2017; Courtney et al., 2015; Williams, 2014). Moreover, Coulter (2017) argues that:

[t]here is potential to foster a more integrated approach to health promotion and care which conceptualizes multiple species as worthy of care and corresponding investment. If thoughtfully approached, One Health programs and services could play an important role in generating a range of new humane jobs (p.36).

The CVO, which seeks to protect animals, food, and people (Office of the Chief Veterinary Officer, 2007) has the potential to foster humane jobs through their programs designed to look after the health and welfare of non-human animals alike, in this way.

By understanding the link between human and animal health and well-being, One Health and other public health policy efforts have the potential to improve the structure of health care, thereby improving jobs and allowing more access to care across species lines. My research builds from these issues and considers possible improvements that could support both the humans and animals involved. Because the CVO is a veterinary office that enforces animal cruelty legislation, literatures on these two areas are particularly salient and interconnected. I will first consider the research on veterinary care.

Veterinary Care

There is a robust literature on different aspects of veterinary medicine. Most salient for my research are the studies which examine work and gender in the veterinary field.

Feminization of veterinary care

Veterinary work is affected by gendered inequities and the emotional difficulties entangled with interspecies caring labour. Indeed, the veterinary field involves a great deal of care, attention to detail, and gentleness, characteristics socially constructed as more “feminine” and often central to the socialization of girls and women. Although historically the position of veterinary doctor has been male-dominated and gendered masculine, in the global north, many women now feel as though veterinary medicine is a good career choice (Irvine & Vermilya, 2010). In the recent years, the veterinary profession in North America has undergone a dramatic

gendered shift: both veterinary technician and new veterinary doctor positions are now mainly staffed by women (Coulter, 2016; Irvine & Vermilya, 2010). Although this seems like a positive accomplishment, women still face challenges in a traditionally male-dominated field as the veterinary profession “places a premium on masculinity, and women who want to succeed must abandon stereotypically feminine behavior (Irvine & Vermilya, 2010, p.72-73). This restrictive gendered performance influences the way women veterinarians interact and cope with the difficult work they do.

Emotion work and emotional labour

‘Emotion work’ refers to the “internal work [people do] to control their own feelings” (Coulter, 2016, p.38). Coulter (2016) identifies that “[v]eterinary practices are key sites where both emotional labo[u]r and emotion work are continuously required, because seeing animals hurt, sick, and being euthanized is a recurring part of the job” (p.39). In his study of daily veterinary struggles, Sanders (2010) focuses on ‘dirty work,’ that is, the “activities or responsibilities that typically are seen as disgusting, degrading, and/or shameful” (p.245). However, Sanders expands the concept to including emotionally challenging dynamics, and identifies euthanasia as the most onerous of the dirty work that veterinary staff must perform. Given the circumstances in which they work, veterinarians and veterinary staff must manage their emotions daily. As noted above, maintenance of emotions is important for portraying professionalism in the veterinary field, which helps women and other oppressed groups seeking approval from clients and fellow employees in the workplace (Irvine & Vermilya, 2010; Sanders, 2010).

The rates of mental illness and suicide are higher for veterinarians than for comparable human-focused medical staff (Bartram & Baldwin, 2010; Skipper & Williams, 2012). As a result, there is a good body of research on the complexities of the job and the psychological and emotional impacts on those working in this sector. To manage their emotions to daily stressors, veterinary employees often emotionally detach themselves from patients and their owners/caretakers (Manifold, 2017; Sanders, 2010). Although this may help to uphold a professional appearance, the work of emotional detachment and emotion work can lead to burnout, depression, and compassion fatigue in veterinary staff (Figley & Roop, 2006). Therefore, understanding the supports and funded programs to support the emotional health and well-being of their workers will prove essential in helping employees to better navigate their jobs and increase their overall well-being at work. These dynamics are relevant to the study of animal cruelty investigations work and policy.

Relationship Between Veterinary Care and Animal Cruelty Work

The fields of veterinary medicine and animal cruelty investigation have some similarities. For instance, research shows that veterinarians should, and often do in some jurisdictions, bear the responsibility of reporting acts of cruelty as they have access to witnessing such acts within their field (Benetato, Reisman, & McCobb, 2011). However, more specific to my research, individual bodies of literature expose similarities between the labour experiences of both veterinarians and animal cruelty protection officers. These connections are notable as a portion of APOs who enforce the Animal Care Act are program veterinarians within the CVO. Therefore, these workers are likely experiencing similar gender inequalities and challenges in both areas of their work. Furthermore, literature shows that cruelty investigation work is

accompanied by additional obstacles including a lack of funding and resources and an increase of danger on the job.

Cruelty Investigation Work

There is a small but helpful collection of research on animal cruelty investigations. Like veterinarians, most cruelty investigators pursue the line of work because of a deep love and commitment to animals (Arluke, 2004, 2006; Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016, 2019). Unfortunately, animal cruelty officers face many individual and systematic struggles when carrying out such work. This section will identify the multitude of challenges of animal cruelty work.

In most jurisdictions across Canada, animal cruelty investigation work is performed by humane societies and SPCAs which rely primarily on private donations and fundraising to support their efforts (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016, 2019). Some public funding may be available to support these animal care organizations although these funds are not sufficient. Coulter and Fitzgerald's (2016) report on Ontario Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (OSPCA) workers notes that "[i]n 2012, the Ontario government began providing \$5M in annual funding to the OSPCA for cruelty investigation, but this only covers one third of the animal protection budget" (p.1). This lack of funding severely impacts the work-lives of animal cruelty officers.

Animal cruelty officers are paid less than other law enforcement agencies and they must work with fewer resources (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). In fact, a lack of funding and resources has negative impact on animal cruelty officers' ability to complete their work effectively. For instance, in more rural areas, several animal cruelty officers do not have an office space; rather they work from their home and use their personal vehicle for work tasks (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). These officers are responsible for larger geographical areas and often must prioritize

complaints based on proximity (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016), leaving some animal cruelty complaints unaddressed. Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019) explain that “[g]iven the size of the workloads and the budget of the organization, officers normally work alone” (p.6). In his study on animal cruelty workers, Arluke (2004) also notes that because of limited funds and resources, animal cruelty officers often investigate cases alone even when there was a threat of danger. Additionally, “sometimes they could not get immediate backup because other officers were too far away or could not be reached by phone or radio” (Arluke, 2004, p.103). The lack of proper funding places animal cruelty officers at heightened risk.

Furthermore, Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019) explain that “OSPCA inspectors currently do not have access to the Canadian Police Information Centre[,] the centralized policing information database which provides information about previous charges, warrants and records” (p.6). As a result, animal cruelty officers are lacking the knowledge of potential danger when responding to animal cruelty complaints. Moreover, animal cruelty officers acknowledge that not knowing the mental state of the humans they will be encountering is a threat to their personal safety and well-being (Arluke, 2004), something that is common among both human-centered and animal focused enforcement work. However, this shortcoming is noted as a serious concern by animal cruelty investigators (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016, 2019).

Animal cruelty officers face a multitude of risks ranging from threats and verbal and sexual harassment to fear of physical altercations to both themselves and their families (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). Arluke (2004) explains that this violence can stem from fear that a person’s animal will be seized and removed from their possession; therefore, anger and violence can be one response of pet owners. Furthermore, in response to the lack of funding and resources experienced by animal cruelty officers, risks to safety are “exacerbated by the fact that some

officers are responsible for large remote and rural sub-regions where the public is less likely to witness the interactions between officers and the individuals they are investigating” (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019, p.7). Working alone is also dangerous in the sense that the animals themselves can pose significant risks to animal cruelty officers as they often bite, kick, or harm officers (Arluke, 2004), although in Ontario officers identified people as the far greater danger (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). These facts make it clear that the status quo is not acceptable and that it is placing workers in physical danger.

In addition to physical and verbal abuse, animal cruelty officers often experience emotional distress on the job and because of their occupations. Akin to workers’ experiences in the veterinary field, Coulter (2016) explains that the work of animal cruelty investigation is emotionally trying; officers regularly see animals in distress, violence, neglect, poverty, and illness. Participants in Coulter and Fitzgerald’s (2019) study on OSPCA workers disclose that workers often experience depression, burnout, and compassion fatigue because of their work. These feelings are intensified by the fact that most animal cruelty officers work alone. One participant in Coulter and Fitzgerald’s (2019) study claims: “[b]ecause we are working alone, we have no extra body to vent these things off to” (p.8). Another participant notes that “one on one interaction on a weekly basis can make such a difference” (p.8). Furthermore, in his study, Arluke (2004) recognizes that animal cruelty officers attempt to manage their feelings by “drawing sharp boundaries between what they felt at work and what they allowed themselves to feel at home. Since it was a job and not a mission, they rarely “took their work home””(p.19). This emotional management is difficult as some animal cruelty investigators often work from home; there is a clear need for restructuring of animal cruelty investigation work to improve the lives of the human workers.

Gendered implications of animal cruelty investigation work

Although violence is experienced by both men and women, female animal cruelty officers are at an increased risk for harassment, sexism, and belittlement from animal abusers, as most of these abusers tend to be men (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019). Undoubtedly, gender has a significant impact on animal cruelty investigation work. For instance, in Coulter and Fitzgerald's (2019) study, they note that women are disproportionately represented in animal cruelty officer positions, whereas men are predominately employed in human-centered law enforcement which offers better pay, benefits, working conditions, and is often unionized and publicly funded. To try to gain respect in their work, women animal cruelty investigators, like women in the veterinary profession, often engage in gendered performance by "embodying a more masculinist persona when in the field" (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019, p.5). Officers identify this as being beneficial to their work as the public and respondents take them more seriously (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019).

Acknowledgment of the struggles of women workers in animal cruelty investigation is crucial to the concept of humane jobs. More protection, higher pay, and better working conditions can improve the working lives of these women. This is particularly salient for veterinary staff who double as APOs within the CVO.

It is important to note that some female animal cruelty officers fear that "better funding and improved working conditions might mean cruelty investigations work would become more attractive to men and thus contribute to job insecurity or fewer opportunities for women" (Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019, p.12). This concern would need to be addressed in acknowledging humane job standards for animal cruelty officers to ensure equity across gender and the intersections of class and race, among other social dynamics.

Overall, labour improvements for animal cruelty investigation are important to acknowledge that human workers as well as the animals deserve protection. As Coulter and Fitzgerald (2016) highlight:

New officers could be hired to decrease workloads and/or allow for partnering, the working conditions of officers could be improved, the detail and depth of investigations could be strengthened, and more cases could be investigated, therefore more animals helped. At the same time, crucial preventative work could be expanded to stop problems before they start (p.17).

In other words, this is an employment area where animals directly benefit from human labour and one I view as worthy of sustained and increased public investment.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Perspectives

This study has been propelled by a theoretical framework that interweaves engaged theory, interspecies solidarity, and multi-optic vision. In this project, these lenses have been assembled to guide my analysis at each stage of the research process. The following sections elucidate this multifaceted conceptual approach and how it shapes and enriches my scholarship.

Engaged Theory

Engaged theory is defined as “theory intended to support social change, directly or indirectly” (Garry, 2008, p.99). Engaged theory extends beyond simply exposing social phenomena, and rather works to generate and implement solutions to such problems. Rai (2019) explains that engaged scholarship “involves researchers interacting *with* stakeholders in practice across the activities of problem formulation, theory building, research design, and problem solving” (p.8). This study is animated by the prospect of building knowledge that can improve human and animal lives through strengthened policy and practice, and has been designed accordingly, in keeping with engaged theory. My intent is not to propose a singular set of proposals applicable to all jurisdictions, but rather to identify promising lessons which could be relevant in many places.

Interspecies Solidarity

This study is conceptualized through the complementary lens of Coulter’s (2016) notion of interspecies solidarity: “an idea, a goal, a process, an ethical commitment, and a political project that can help foster better conditions for animals, improve people’s work

lives, and interweave human and animal well-being” (p.3). Interspecies solidarity is rooted in empathy and involves support despite differences (Coulter, 2016); thus, while human and animal needs may be different, they are both important. Coulter (2016) explains:

When thinking about interspecies relations, undoubtedly this dimension is noteworthy; people do not need to be identical to animals for solidarity to be felt and encouraged. The pursuit of interspecies solidarity involves an expanded sphere of empathy and understanding, but someone could still argue and believe that people are different from animals, simultaneously. Solidarity should be promoted not simply because animals are like us/we are like animals, but because it is the ethical thing to do. Others, whether human or animal, should not have to be like us for us to care about their wellbeing (p.150).

Despite notable similarities and differences between humans and non-human animals, interspecies solidarity suggests that care and compassion should be extended to all vulnerable groups. More specifically, as animals lack the political voice (Palmer, 2010), human beings have a responsibility and moral obligation to protect non-human animals.

Coulter (2016) advances interspecies solidarity as a concept that challenges “us to understand what animals are thinking and feeling, and to change ‘business as usual’ so as to respect them” (p.154). Interspecies solidarity suggests that animals can no longer be considered merely as property or tools, but rather as social subjects whose needs and desires must be considered in current and future work relationships (Coulter, 2016; Rock & Degeling, 2015). Moreover, Coulter (2016) notes that interspecies solidarity is not exclusive to working contexts. Instead, Coulter (2016) argues that interspecies solidarity can “help create change inside and outside of spaces of work and inspire not only different relationships, but societies that advance social solidarity within and across species” (p.150-51). This interspecies theoretical lens allows me to position myself with, and in support of both the workers and the animals present to adequately address current practices and the

future possibilities of human and animal justice. It works in concert with engaged theory and the idea of multi-optic vision.

Multi-Optic Vision

Claire Jean Kim (2015) employs a somewhat similar framework which she identifies as “multi-optic vision”. Kim extends ideas of intersectionality across species lines and challenges us to reject a myopic view which privileges one perspective and instead to see the interconnectedness of different social groups’ well-being. Kim (2015) explains that social justice is often approached with “single optic vision, a way of seeing that foregrounds a particular form of injustice while backgrounding others” (p.19). In this sense, ignoring the interconnectedness of injustice and addressing one singular issue can further oppress other vulnerable groups involved.

In response, Kim (2015) proposes adopting an ‘ethics of mutual avowal’, or “an open and active acknowledgement of connection with other struggles” (p.20). As Kim (2015) explains: “[i]f we develop an ethics of mutual avowal in relation to other justice struggles, we not only reduce the chance we will reinscribe other forms of oppression (even inadvertently), but also open ourselves to new ways of imagining ourselves in relation to others” (p.20). Other scholars contend that care and justice are not limited to other vulnerable humans on the bases of race, class, or gender, but that our responsibility to non-human animals is also significant (Clement, 2003; Palmer, 2010). This is similar to Coulter’s (2016) argument that both human and animal wellbeing need to be interlinked.

With a goal of justice for both humans and animals, a multi-optic view not only prepares me to confront the issues in animal protection work for the workers and the

animals they seek to help, but it also allows me to consider the marginalization of other human groups involved. Specifically, addressing the economic, societal, and interpersonal oppression experienced by some animal owners is essential to interrupting cycles of marginalization and for improving the lives of all entangled with animal protection work.

Therefore, theoretically, I interweave engaged theory with the complementary lenses of interspecies solidarity and multi-optic vision throughout this study as I seek to identify and improve the relationships and work-lives of all humans and animals involved. In that spirit, this research will generate insights about how public funding and management of animal cruelty investigations work affects these different groups and would be a useful way to foster good jobs for human workers, while simultaneously helping animals and their owners through improved legal enforcement and the augmented or expanded provisioning of care.

Chapter Four: Methodological Approach

To effectively answer my research questions, I have used two main methods to build an understanding of the CVO's policies and practices. Specifically, I considered data collected from 1) documentary sources (i.e. statistics and policies), and 2) targeted semi-structured interviews with workers in the CVO. I then triangulated the data and critically and constructively assessed the efficacy, strengths, and limitations of current practices.

Case Study

Yin (2018) argues that a case study should be used when a researcher is attempting to describe or explain a phenomenon. Thomas (2011) further contends that a case study aims to look at relationships and processes. As previously noted, I conducted a case study of Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office (CVO) because this office is not well-researched. A case study enabled me to accurately understand and describe the operations of the CVO for my educational purpose, and for the knowledge of the public. Having first-hand knowledge of the relationships and processes of the CVO, I consider the efficacy of the CVO's animal cruelty investigations.

Because a case study is used to explain a phenomenon, my research is not deeply embedded in theory. Yin (2018) explains that theory can often limit a researcher's ability to make new discoveries. As discussed above, I am nevertheless guided by the theoretical lenses of engaged theory, interspecies solidarity, and multi-optic vision. In her development of multi-optic vision, Kim (2015) acknowledges that this multi-situational perspective and the concept of mutual avowal is not always the answer to solve all problems of oppression, but it can be used as a guideline to begin to address such issues.

My previously examined theoretical perspectives helped inform my interview guide and my overall approach to the research topic which is interested in multispecies well-being.

Another crucial characteristic of the case study methodology is that it is not used to generalize information, but to understand uniqueness (Thomas, 2011). This project focuses on the specifics of the CVO in Manitoba. That said, I am interested in gleaning lessons for other jurisdictions from this publicly-funded approach to animal cruelty investigations. The case study approach is integral to my data collection and presentation, but I also extend from the Manitoba specifics to generate insights of broader relevance, particularly in my conclusion. Moreover, I hope my findings will also be of value to policy makers and advocates in Manitoba specifically.

Data Collection: Documentary/Policy Analysis

Online information on Manitoba's CVO is very limited. As a result, I requested access to institutional archives (i.e., budgetary documents, annual reports, etc.) in addition to public documents (i.e., brochures and other advertising records promoting their services). Dorothy Smith (e.g. 2001) explains how institutional texts can direct, shape, and obfuscate labour and social relations within organizations (often with gendered effects). Keeping her analysis in mind, I utilized as many available documents to better understand the broader implications and relations within the CVO while bolstering and triangulating my data with qualitative interviews.

As the CVO is a government office, not all documents were available for me to utilize in this research. Through close relationships with research participants, I was able to obtain some supplementary material; however, it was limited, and, in some cases, I opted

not to include information provided in order to protect the confidentiality of my research participants. Overall, I was required to rely more heavily on interview data which shapes the findings.

Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews

To solidify and expand on the information provided through documentary sources, I conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants who are leaders and experts in their field. As semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to modify interview questions based on participant feedback (Symbaluk, 2014), this flexibility allowed me to adapt my interview questions and structure, which provided a more dialogical approach to gathering pertinent information about the structure of the CVO.

With very minimal existing data and no scholarship on the CVO, it was important that I conduct face-to-face interviews on site, where, in addition to collecting additional policies and other documents, I could begin to experience the office first-hand. After obtaining ethical clearance from Brock University's Research Ethics Board, my supervisor, Dr. Kendra Coulter, introduced me to an Ontario veterinarian who acquainted me with a long-serving veterinarian in the CVO. This veterinarian then provided me names and contact information of thirteen workers in the CVO who may be interested in being potential participants. In other words, this was a form of snowball sampling, shaped by the initial key informant. Using a letter of invitation (See Appendix A) outlining my research project, I then emailed each contact requesting their participation.

Considering the lack of knowledge of the size of the workforce within the CVO, and the understanding that animal care work is often demanding, I utilized convenience

sampling and selected participants based on who was available and willing to participate in this research (Berg, 2004; Ritchie, Lewis, Elam, Tennant, & Rahim, 2014). I interviewed ten workers of the CVO.

Interview details

As previously outlined, the CVO is responsible for many branches of animal health and welfare. Given my focus on animal cruelty investigations, I concentrated primarily on pertinent workers, but sought to gain geographic diversity. Some participants work at the central Manitoba Agriculture office building in Winnipeg, while other participants work from more remote locations in the province.

Yeo et al. (2014) explain that face-to-face interviews provide a stronger basis for establishing good rapport between researcher and participant. Additionally, telephone or online interviews provide a disadvantage to the researchers as “[p]hysical cues of body language or facial expression can be missed, which could be very important pointers for probing for further detail or to indicate different points of view” (Yeo et al., 2014, p.182). For these reasons, and because I wanted to gain access to documentary sources, I decided to conduct in-person interviews. (See Appendix B). Thus, I arranged the timing of my field research in Winnipeg in the summer of 2018 to best accommodate the participants’ schedules. Unfortunately, because of the location, participants’ schedules, and a limited budget that did not allow me to travel extensively, I conducted phone interviews with two out of ten participants.

As Esterberg (2011) explains: “[t]o avoid bias, the interviewer needs to reveal as little about him-or herself as possible” (p.90). Before the interviews commenced, I did not

disclose the details of my ethical stance on animals as I feared this information would limit collectable data. As participants ranged from working in abattoirs to inspecting reports of companion animal cruelty, I did not want participants to withhold information due to their perceptions of my values. I believe this approach helped in gathering data that exposes both positive and negative experiences within the CVO and aided to a stronger overall understanding of the strengths and limitations of current practices.

Prior to each interview, participants were given a letter of informed consent (See Appendix C) outlining potential benefits and risks of the study, as well addressing voluntary participation and signifying that participants are free to withhold information and remove themselves from the study. Interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes in length and were conducted in a location based on each participant's preference. As Symbaluk (2014) explains: "[t]he location and setting for an interview should be one that is familiar to the participant and would make him or her feel at ease" (p.215). Considering my research participants are government employees working in offices near one another, participants had the option of where they would like to be interviewed to accommodate not only availability, but confidentiality as well. All interviews, in-person or by phone, were audio recorded and then transcribed by me.

Providing confidentiality

Originally, I provided each participant with the option to decide whether they would like to be afforded confidentiality. While most participants opted for confidentiality, I decided to afford all participants confidentiality given the small sample size and unique positions within the CVO that would easily identify other participants in the study.

Originally, I intended to use pseudonyms to disguise participant identity and adjust exact employment details; however, the gendered implications of pseudonyms and job descriptions presented a challenge in ensuring confidentiality. To protect these workers, I chose to provide them with greater confidentiality. I refer to them as participants, investigators, officers, and APOs throughout this study.

Thematic Analysis

After transcribing my interviews, I reviewed the collected data and separated participant feedback into topics and themes to help categorize data and answer my research questions. This process of thematic analysis (Spencer, Ritchie, O'Connor, Morrell, & Ormston, 2014) helped me to discover and record linkages between beliefs, behaviours, and attitudes of the workers within the CVO. Once the data was separated into categories, I was able to analyze and develop an understanding of the experiences of the workers within the CVO. Again, this form of analysis was crucial to the understanding of my data as participants were from various areas within the CVO. Therefore, thematic analysis allowed me to compare responses across all roles and experiences to find shared and distinct themes. Since this is a baseline case study, my primary focuses were on generating the knowledge needed to explain the CVO's cruelty investigations labour, to identify workers' perspectives on its strengths and weaknesses, and, ultimately, to synthesize the most important lessons for Manitoba and for other jurisdictions.

Chapter Five: CVO Fundamentals

Animal Protection Work in Manitoba

The Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for all animal care throughout the province. There are multiple branches under the Ministry that seek to take care of the health and well-being of animals and, in turn, humans. The main branch I focus on in this research is the Animal Health and Welfare branch outlined below in Figure 1. Under this branch is Manitoba's CVO, which is responsible for the sub-branches of Animal Welfare, Animal Health, Emergency Preparedness, One Health, and Veterinary Diagnostic Services. Through the Animal Welfare sub-branch, the CVO is responsible for enforcing the Animal Welfare Program, formerly the Humane Inspection Program, which "protects the welfare of animals by ensuring compliance with the Animal Care Act", the provinces animal cruelty legislation ("Animal Welfare Program", n.d.). The Animal Health and Welfare branch covers both companion and livestock animals in the province.

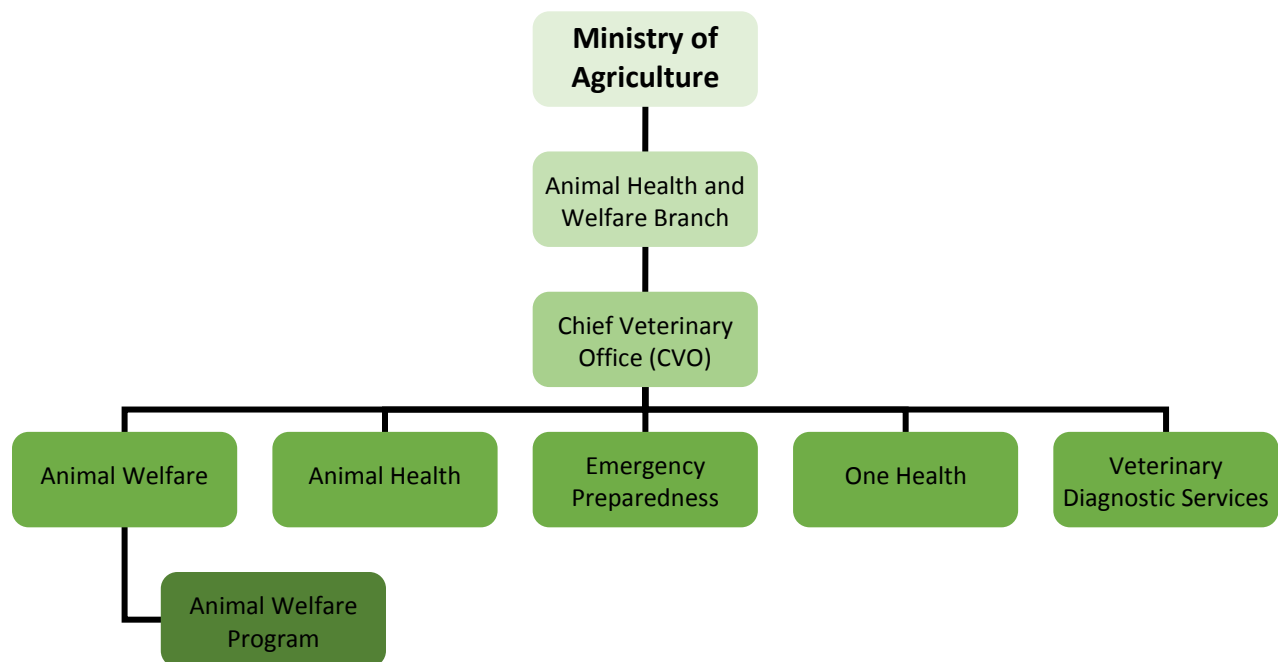


Figure 1: Animal Health and Welfare Branch

Formation of the CVO

Manitoba's CVO was created in 2005 under the New Democratic government in response to public concern for the well-being of animals. Then Minister of Agriculture, Rosann Wowchuk, named Dr. Wayne Lees the first Chief Veterinary Officer for Manitoba to oversee all programs run by the CVO (Manitoba Government, 2005). The CVO was created with four specific goals in mind:

- I. Protect the health of the public from diseases of animals that can pass directly or indirectly to people,
- II. Protect the safety of food to guard against contamination with pathogens, toxins or hazardous materials.
- III. Protect the health and welfare of animals for economic or intrinsic benefit.
- IV. Protect trade in agriculture through health certification or food safety assurance programs (Office of the Chief Veterinary Officer, 2007, p.3).

In the formation of the CVO, Manitoba Agriculture recognized the interconnections between human and veterinary medicine, as well as “the strong inter-relationships among protecting the health of animals, protecting the safety of food and protecting the health of people (Office of the Chief Veterinary Officer, 2007, p.6). Manitoba Agriculture pose that in the absence of a provincial CVO, “[t]he health and welfare of animals in Manitoba would be compromised, food safety could not be assured, and protection of the public would be hindered. (Office of the Chief Veterinary Officer, 2007, p.4). Thus, in addition to protecting animals based on their intrinsic value, the Manitoba government also deemed it important to support and fund animal health and welfare to improve the well-being of humans. It would be helpful to know more details about why specifically animal cruelty investigations were brought under the public funding envelope, including whether it was internally or externally motivated (or some combination), and whether there was any opposition. Unfortunately, despite my best efforts, I

was not able to locate textual sources of this kind and my informants did not have this specific historical knowledge.

The Animal Care Act

In Canada, animal cruelty is outlined in the Federal Criminal Code. However, federal law requires intent to harm and this sets a very high legal bar (“Puppy mill operator charged under new law”, 2000). Most provinces have provincial animal protections laws of their own. The Animal Care Act, Manitoba’s provincial legislation, was created in 1995 after a large puppy mill case sparked public outcry throughout the province. Prior to this, Manitoba did not have provincial animal cruelty legislation.

Part two of the Animal Care Act provides the following guidelines to outline what constitutes proper legal animal care in Manitoba:

- 2(1) A person who has ownership, possession or control of an animal
 - (a) shall ensure that the animal has an adequate source of food and water;
 - (b) shall provide the animal with adequate medical attention when the animal is wounded or ill;
 - (c) shall provide the animal with reasonable protection from injurious heat or cold; and
 - (d) shall not confine the animal to an enclosure or area
 - (i) with inadequate space,
 - (ii) with unsanitary conditions,
 - (iii) with inadequate ventilation or lighting, or
 - (iv) without providing an opportunity for exercise,so as to significantly impair the animal's health or well-being.

Furthermore, the Animal Care Act addresses that no person shall inflict harm, suffering, injury, extreme anxiety or distress that impairs the health and/or well-being of animal. However, there are many exemptions for certain kinds of practices in areas like animal agriculture,

research, and exhibitions and fairs, the Animal Care Act also prohibits transporting animals if the animal is unable to stand or would suffer during transport due to illness, injury, or fatigue.

Introduction to APOs

Animal Protection Officers (APOs) are appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture to enforce the Animal Care Act. The use of APOs in Manitoba started in 1996 as the original Animal Care Act allowed for appointment of APOs hired by the province. These APOs, originally provincial veterinarians working for the Ministry of Agriculture, enforced the Animal Care Act under the province's Humane Inspection Program, a program dedicated to ensuring the health and welfare of animals typically within an agriculture setting. In 2005, animal inspection work became the responsibility of the CVO once it was officially formed (Manitoba, 2006). Upon this shift, the Humane Inspection Program also expanded to become Manitoba's Animal Welfare Program, which focused on the health and welfare of both livestock and companion animals in the province. This program is still used today by the Ministry of Agriculture.

When the CVO first began, there were approximately thirty APOs conducting animal cruelty investigation work. Today, the number of APOs enforcing the Animal Care Act is around one hundred and five, and they are both public and contracted employees. Figure 2 below illustrates the organization of APOs in Manitoba.

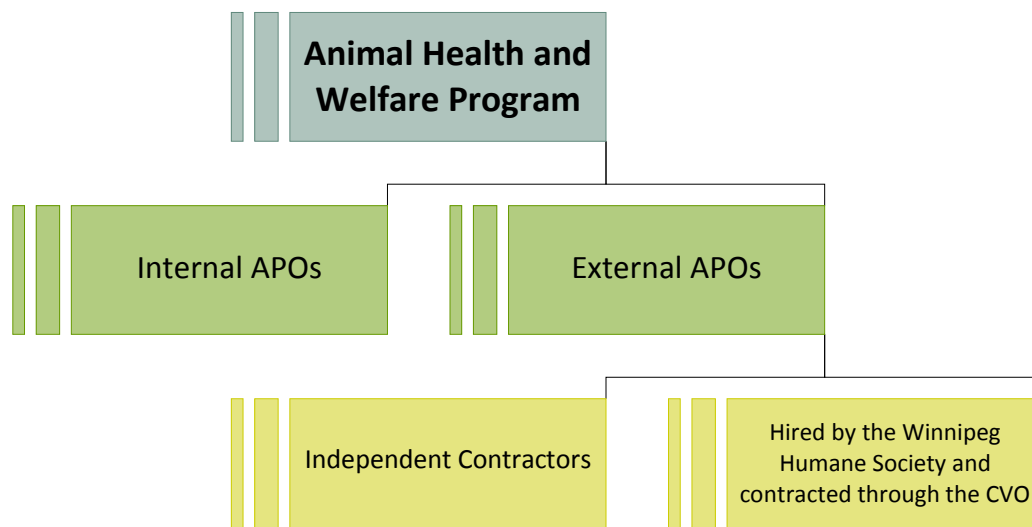


Figure 2: Organization of APOs in Manitoba

Internal APOs (Employees of the CVO)

APOs are hired in three different contexts throughout the province. First, employees of the CVO, which include veterinarians, program supervisors, and some office staff, are appointed as secondary APOs to conduct animal cruelty investigations. These staff are referred to as “internal” staff by members of the CVO as they are employed directly by Manitoba Agriculture. These people generally work full-time at the CVO with animal cruelty investigation work being added to their job description. Most are members of the Manitoba Government and General Employees’ Union. Because not all these employees are solely APOs, and they work in various areas of the CVO, the salaries of these workers vary. To avoid the risk of breaching confidentiality of research participants, these salaries will not be examined. As these workers are direct employees of Manitoba Agriculture, they qualify for benefits to be discussed in a later section of this thesis. In the 2017/2018 fiscal year, Manitoba Agriculture received close to \$400

million in government funding (Manitoba Government, 2017), with over \$8 million spent specifically on animal health and welfare (Manitoba Agriculture, 2017).

External APOs (Independent contractors)

APOs who do not work full-time for the ministry are appointed by the CVO to conduct animal cruelty investigation work. These workers are considered independent contractors and are referred to as ‘external’ staff. External officers work on a case by case basis as most of these officers have full-time careers and only work as part-time APOs for additional income. These APOs log their activity and are paid hourly for their services, travel mileage, phone calls, etc. As independent contractors, external APOs are required to purchase and supply their own investigation gear and travel vehicle. Because external APOs are not public employees, salary information is not available and was not divulged by participants. Reports of animal cruelty made to the CVO are assigned to both internal and external APOs.

Winnipeg Humane Society APOs (Contracted by the CVO)

Another group of external contractors are employed by the Winnipeg Humane Society (WHS) and contracted by the Ministry of Agriculture. This is the only animal charity in the province that has an animal investigation team, which differs from the approach used in most Canadian provinces which are heavily charity reliant. It is important to note that this cluster of workers are unionized under Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 500. There is a total of five (four full-time, one part-time) APOs for the city of Winnipeg, which has a population estimated at approximately 832,186 people (Statistics Canada, 2019a).

The WHS hires both emergency responders (ERs) and APOs to respond to animal emergencies and reports of cruelty in Winnipeg. ERs are individuals employed by the WHS who have an interest in animal protection. These responders are not classified as officers under the Animal Care Act and have limited enforcement power; however, ERs travel alongside APOs and assist with investigations where applicable. These responders help in the investigation process by interacting with respondents while APOs investigate and watching for threats of danger to the officers. ERs and APOs working with the WHS respond to calls of animal emergencies and reports of cruelty throughout Winnipeg. ERs can be recommended by management to be officially appointed as APOs through the Ministry of Agriculture. These workers may then be hired by the WHS or by the CVO as APOs.

APOs working for the WHS make between \$13.10 and \$17.50 per hour depending on years of employment (The Winnipeg Humane Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 500, 2016). The WHS received around \$12,000 from the CVO in the 2018/2019 fiscal year to conduct animal cruelty investigation work in Winnipeg. This does not cover all the costs and the charity still subsidizes cruelty investigations.

Police officers in Manitoba are also appointed as APOs under the Animal Care Act, although this work is typically reserved for APOs in the three groups elucidated above. Police-APO relations will be discussed in more detail in this study.

The Animal Care Line

Manitoba relies primarily on a complaints-based investigations model, as is common across Canada. To make it easier for complainants to report concerns and for investigations to be

logged and centrally coordinated, the CVO created the Animal Care Line through which people can report suspected animal abuse. The Animal Care Line is housed within the Ministry of Agriculture and monitored seven days a week by the CVO (“Animal Care and Handling”, n.d.). People wanting to make a complaint about animal cruelty have the option of calling this direct line or filling out an online intake form (See Appendix D) available on the Manitoba Agriculture’s website and emailing it to the CVO. If the complaint is within the city of Winnipeg, the public is encouraged to report it to the WHS directly as they are responsible for this area; however, Animal Care Line dispatchers will direct complaints to the WHS when necessary. These options for reporting acts of animal cruelty are promoted by the Manitoba government.

All complaints made to the Animal Care Line are recorded in a database so investigators and office staff can keep track of case details to ensure both the animal’s safety, and the well-being of the APOs. Complainant information is kept confidential to ensure the privacy and protection of the public. The WHS has a separate database for animal cruelty reported in the city of Winnipeg. Therefore, it is important that complaints are directed to the appropriate organization as it is easier to maintain individual databases and dispatch APOs in the right jurisdictions.

Once a report of animal cruelty has been received, dispatchers with the Animal Care Line assign an APO to investigate. Generally, these assignments are based on the geographic location of APOs in proximity to the location of the complaint. However, these investigations are also often assigned to APOs based on their own individual experience and animal preference. For instance, some APOs have previous experience with farmed animals and are more knowledgeable and comfortable investigating these environments. Animal type also plays a large

role in investigation assignment as some APOs may be more comfortable investigating certain species. Workers answering the Animal Care Line are familiar with the available officers and can seek out specific investigators accordingly. APOs can then decide to accept or decline an investigation request, which is unusual in animal cruelty investigation work. Because the majority of APOs in the province utilized for animal cruelty investigations are external staff/contractors with other jobs and responsibilities, they may not always be available to investigate all reports of cruelty or to do so promptly. As a result, it is not uncommon for investigations to occur the day after a complaint is made, depending on the severity of the report.

During an investigation, APOs seek to determine whether an animal owner or caretaker is in compliance with the Animal Care Act and recommends the appropriate action accordingly. As the CVO responds to reports of cruelty for both farmed and companion animals, they use the term *inspection* to include all complaints they examine, whether it be at a business or a residence. This is somewhat different from other jurisdictions where the term inspection is more commonly applied to the assessment of businesses, while investigations are for individual cases. Potential results of an inspection are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Results of Animal Cruelty Inspections as Outlined by the CVO	
Dismissal	A concern is dismissed if the inspection produces no evidence of abuse or animals in distress.
Corrective Action	For minor infractions, the APO outlines improvements the owner must make. A follow-up inspection is performed to ensure the owner has complied.
Seizure of Animals	If there are reasonable grounds to believe animals are in distress, the APO may supply any care deemed necessary to relieve the distress. Under section 9 (1) of the act, the APO may also seize the animals, either immediately or at a later date. Seizure of animals is for the purpose of protecting the animals and relieving distress and is not a form of punishment of the owner.
Charges Under the Animal Care Act	If infractions to the Animal Care Act are discovered, the matter is investigated, and charges may be filed. Charges may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common Offence Notice (CON) / fines • Court prosecution

Table 1: Data supplied by Manitoba Agriculture

After an investigation, APOs report back to the Animal Care Line to follow up with dispatchers on the result of the investigation. This helps to update and maintain the database, which benefits investigators for future complaints at the same location. This is also the case with APOs at the WHS to maintain their own database. Arluke (2004) identifies dispatchers as the gatekeepers of animal protection work. However, this research shows that dispatchers play a significant role in all stages of an investigation. Although not the focus of this research, more research on the job of animal cruelty dispatchers would contribute invaluable insight on other worker experiences in animal cruelty work and on the potential for dispatches elsewhere.

The Animal Care Line case information

Based off the care guidelines proposed by the Animal Care Act above, APOs generally witness five main animal welfare concerns during an investigation:

- I. [Act] 2 (1) (a): Failure to ensure an adequate source of food and water for an animal,
- II. [Act] 2 (1) (b): Failure to provide adequate medical attention for an animal when it is wounded or ill,
- III. [Act] 2 (1) (c): Failure to provide an animal with reasonable protection from injurious heat or cold,
- IV. [Act] (2) (1) (d) (ii): Confinement of an animal to an enclosure or area with unsanitary conditions, so to as significantly impair the animal's health or well-being, and
- V. [Act] (3) (1): Inflict upon an animal acute suffering, serious injury or harm, or extreme anxiety or distress that significantly impairs its health or well-being.

Through the Animal Care Line, the CVO generates annual public statistics on animal cruelty complaints and investigations conducted by their APOs. These findings are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Chief Veterinary Office Animal Cruelty Statistics Between 2013 – 2018			
Year	Total Cases Filed	Largest Animal Welfare Concern	Most Inspected Species
2013	582	N/A	Canine (47%)
2014	696	N/A	Canine (64.9%)
2015	798	[Act] 2 (1) (a) Failure to ensure adequate source of food and water for an animal (51.75%)	Canine (68.3%)
2016	952	[Act] 2 (1) (a) Failure to ensure adequate source of food and water for an animal (43.8%)	Canine (66.81%)
2017	1,026	[Act] 2 (1) (a) Failure to ensure adequate source of food and water for an animal (52%)	Canine (64%)
2018	1,054	[Act] 2 (1) (a) Failure to ensure adequate source of food and water for an animal (52%)	Canine (66%)

Table 2: Data supplied by Manitoba Agriculture

Despite the varying percentage of total cases examined per year, this data shows that Act 2 (1) (a) of the Animal Care Act is violated the most, and that canines are consecutively the most inspected species.

WHS Case Information

Data collected by the WHS on animal cruelty complaints are recorded in Table 3. Although the APOs and Emergency Responders working with the WHS are hired to enforce the provincial Animal Care Act, these officers mostly encounter companion animal concerns. As a result, data shows that officers respond to four main animal welfare concerns as outlined by the Animal Care Act:

- I. [Act] 2 (1) (a): Failure to ensure an adequate source of food and water for an animal,
- II. [Act] 2 (1) (c): Failure to provide animal with reasonable protection from injurious heat or cold,
- III. [Act] 2 (1) (d) (iii): Confinement of an animal to an enclosure or area with inadequate ventilation or lighting, so to as significantly impair the animal's health or well-being, and
- IV. [Act] (3) (1): Inflict upon an animal acute suffering, serious injury or harm, or extreme anxiety or distress that significantly impairs its health or well-being.

Table 3: Winnipeg Humane Society Animal Cruelty Statistics Between 2014 - 2018		
Year	Total Cases Filed	Case Breakdown
2014	739	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 108 injured or ill wildlife emergency pick-ups ➤ 190 animals locked in vehicle complaints ➤ 34 confinement complaints regarding inadequate ventilation/ lighting ➤ 407 calls regarding animals unduly exposed to heat/cold
2015	1,832	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 625 emergency pick-ups ➤ 226 animals locked in vehicles complaints ➤ 375 calls of complaint for not providing enough food or water ➤ 435 calls regarding animals unduly exposed to cold or heat ➤ 171 animals abandoned or living in conditions causing extreme anxiety/distress
2016	2,264	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 952 emergency pick-ups ➤ 185 animals locked in vehicles complaints ➤ 474 calls of complaint for not providing food or water ➤ 484 calls regarding animals unduly exposed to cold or heat ➤ 169 calls regarding abandoned animals
2017	2,597	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 324 animals locked in vehicles complaints ➤ 543 calls of complaint for not providing food or water ➤ 970 emergency pick-ups ➤ 228 calls regarding abandoned animals ➤ 532 calls regarding animals unduly exposed to cold or heat

Table 3: Data supplied by the Winnipeg Humane Society

Each year, the greatest number of calls the WHS receive are emergency pick-ups of injured animals. This is likely because the WHS has a state-of-the-art veterinary clinic that cares for unclaimed animals with immediate injuries and life-threatening conditions (i.e., animals who have been hit by a motor vehicle). While this is not animal cruelty investigation work per se, it is included under the larger umbrella of animal care and control services. This clinic treats animals from all over Manitoba who are in the process of rehabilitation and who will be placed for foster or adoption (“The WHS Clinic”, 2019). However, in relation to the Animal Care Act, APOs working with the WHS investigate high violations of Act 2 (1) (c): Failure to provide an animal with reasonable protection from injurious heat or cold.

It is important to note that the increase of animal cruelty cases annually for both the CVO and the WHS is not necessarily a result of increased cruelty in the province. Rather, the public may be more aware of animal care and has easier access in reporting acts of abuse and neglect through introduction of the Animal Care Line.

Basic Investigation Process

Figure 3 below outlines the basic process of animal cruelty investigations in Manitoba. It is important to note that multiple cases are normally investigated simultaneously and at different stages in the process.

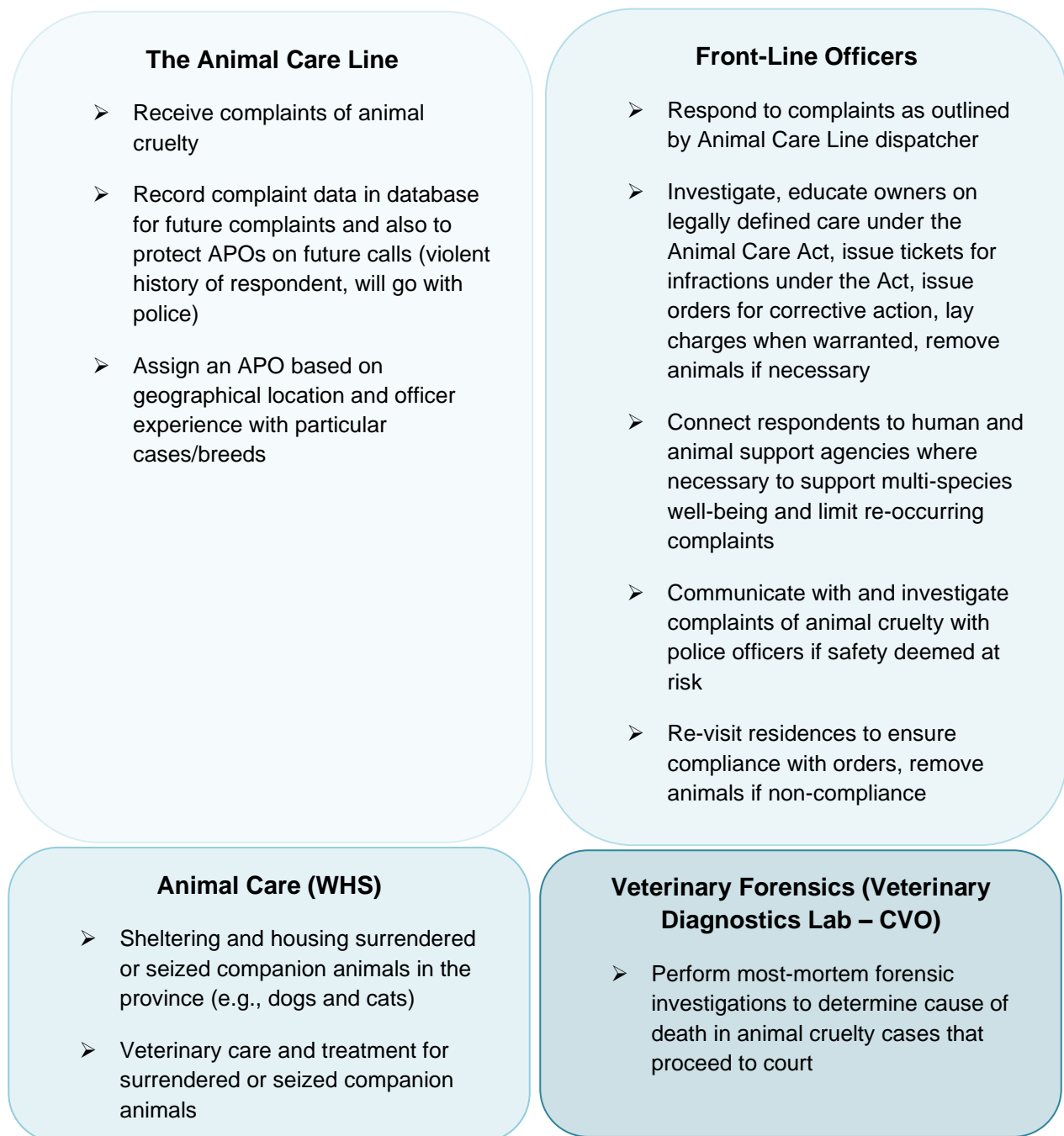


Figure 3: Basic Process of Manitoba Cruelty Investigations

Chapter Six: Results and Discussion

After analyzing the textual and interview data in detail, I have identified five key findings that I believe to be central for understanding the work-lives of APOs and the structure of animal cruelty investigation work in Manitoba.

The first key finding, “APO Training,” examines the CVO’s approach to training new animal cruelty officers in Manitoba. The second key finding, “The Many Roles of APOs,” addresses the sociological aspects of animal cruelty work and the secondary roles APOs adopt as social workers and humane educators. The third key finding, “Worker Well-being,” outlines the psychological and physical implications of this work for APOs. The fourth key finding, “Police Assistance and Conflict,” illustrates the benefits and challenges of police assistance during investigations. The fifth key finding, “Structural Inequities Between APOs,” synthesizes the various inequities and experiences among the different categories of APOs in Manitoba.

Key Finding #1: APO Training

The first key finding reveals and examines the existing training program used to equip new APOs in Manitoba. This section also highlights the importance of previous work in animal care/husbandry to APOs conducting animal cruelty prevention work.

Current APO training

New APOs in Manitoba are only required to complete an eight-hour training course. Two participants who highlighted this said that they feel this training did not accurately reflect or prepare them for the job. The training focuses primarily on understanding the Animal Care Act and the responsibilities of the APOs while investigating complaints. Other components such as

writing reports and obtaining warrants for inspection are discussed, although not in detail. As an officer explains:

Just speaking honestly, I don't think it's enough training. You probably know this, just like anyone else, if you have something new to do and you don't have any training, you fumble your way through it, and you don't do it efficiently. You know, you're learning through the 'School of Hard Knocks' and that's not a good way of learning it, really and truly. It's not professional. Especially those first few cases that you work on. Also, with animal protection work, you only get certain aspects of the job on occasion. You might have to get a warrant once every six months...a warrant to search a place. Well, if you've never done that before, you need examples, and then you have to struggle. That would take you hours and hours and hours. If you're properly trained in it, you know going into it what to do, and you can just wrap it up real quickly.

Similarly, another APO says:

It's not very detailed training because it's only one day. I mean there's so much. You're basically expected to have a basic understanding of animal care. You're supposed to already have that coming forward. A lot of APOs are previous animal service workers and stuff – like, people who have worked in the system with animals for a long time, or they have from the farming industry or veterinarian field. So, the training that's provided by the CVO is basically just how to write your reports, how

to kind of do what I do – like I go through what a typical day looks like, or what a typical inspection looks like for me. They go over the Act, the different parts of the Act, what we investigate, what we don't investigate. So, that training is provided to you.

When asked what a typical day looks like for each participant, the overwhelming majority explain that each day is different and accompanied with a new set of challenges. Given the responsibilities of this workforce, the challenges they face on the job, and the diverse situations they encounter, the perspectives of these APOs about training are noteworthy.

In addition to the short initial training, participants explain that the CVO offers directed training sessions throughout the year about issues such as handling exotic animals, self-defence, and gun violence. Although this training may not always precisely reflect what APOs are confronting in their daily work, this additional training does add value to APOs and prepares them in an unpredictable field.

Benefits of previous work experience for animal cruelty work

With such a short and limited training program, APOs often learn through on-the-job experiences. Notably, prior experience in animal care, husbandry, and/or law enforcement is required before APOs can be appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture to enforce the Animal Care Act (Manitoba Agriculture, n.d.). For the people within the WHS, they are required to work as emergency responders (ERs) before being invited to become appointed by the Ministry as an APO. Participants frequently highlight how their previous work experience is essential to their

success as an APO in approaching and resolving the many work challenges. One APO explains:

I've done some very very serious cases that took just as much work and just as much knowledge as it would - you almost have to have a police background to do.

A long serving officer, who worked at the Winnipeg Humane Society as an ER part-time while they attended university, claims that they feel lucky to have started with the WHS because they were able to gain on-the-job experience by working alongside APOs. Experience in human-focussed fields is also beneficial to the work of APOs. Considering that animal well-being is linked to owner/human well-being, having experience and prior knowledge in human-centered organizations like social work or human health care is valuable. As the CVO currently only requires APOs to have experience in animal related fields, this is a potential area of consideration. As another officer explains:

In the animal protection world, I think we require a number of people with different types of skills.

In my view, these skills can and should extend into fields that are designed to support human health and well-being. A contracted APO, also a trained social worker, says their experience as a social worker helps them to “*help people look after their animals better*”. This is a potential area of growth for hiring practices within the CVO.

Employing people with experience in different fields can be beneficial to the CVO as each worker will bring different skills and mindsets to their jobs; however, it can also impact

their individual and collective success within the CVO. For example, an officer above explains that their background in policing provided them with the knowledge and experience of obtaining warrants. However, this is not the case for all APOs. Without on-the-job training, formal tasks such as obtaining warrants can be challenging and time consuming. More detailed training is required to APOs to ensure that all workers are familiar with all aspects of animal protection work. This training would help eliminate administrative confusion and minimize the likelihood of APOs having to ask for guidance in procedures. Ideally, additional training in areas identified by APOs as problematic will contribute to the success of The Animal Welfare Program as workers will better be able to help animals who need immediate assistance. More formal training protocol would also likely protect APOs against the risk of lawsuits during investigations and decrease liability for the provincial government in animal protection cases. Therefore, training has the potential to contribute to the overall job satisfaction of workers, thus allowing them to complete their work more confidently and effectively.

Ride-a-longs as a tool for training

Participants suggest that job shadowing, or what they refer to as ‘ride-a-longs’ could be an important strategy for deepening the knowledge of new APOs. One officer discusses a previous ride-a-long experience they had with a new APO:

Last year I had the opportunity to have a new APO. He wasn't an APO yet I don't think. But he had gone through the training and he wanted to do some ride-alongs in order to get a bit more experience, to know exactly what we do on a daily basis. And that was really helpful for me [also] because I had – there's two people, right? ...I

think that it would be beneficial to have the opportunity to – either to have ride-a-longs with potential APOs as part of a training program. That could be implemented as part of maybe an apprentice kind of thing. That would be something that I would like to see change.

Another participant also feels that ride-a-longs are beneficial as: “*Having a second set of eyes is always helpful*”. In other words, it is evident that ride-a-longs are not only important for new APOs to gain insight and experience in the field, but also an advantage to experienced APOs who often work alone. Except for APOs working for the WHS, internal and external APOs generally conduct investigations alone, unless there is a known threat to their safety. Participants explain that working alongside a second APO provides them with a sense of security and allows them to divide tasks between each person to ensure a more thorough investigation. In this sense, implementing a regimented ride-a-long component to the APO training protocol could be beneficial to workers at all stages of their careers and increase the efficacy of investigations. The larger issue of partnered investigations as more than a temporary route for training is clearly also salient. I revisit this below in the third key finding.

Key Finding #2: The Many Roles of APOs

The second key finding highlights what could be considered the sociological aspect of animal protection work. This section identifies and examines the work APOs do as both social workers and humane educators in their day-to-day experiences on the job.

APOs as social workers

Acknowledging the link between human-animal well-being

Throughout my interviews, most participants reveal that they see a disproportionate amount of animal hoarding and domestic squalor. Most participants emphasize the negative physical health implications that domestic squalor has on animals, such as respiratory problems and malnutrition from living in such conditions. One officer discusses how these environments also impact the mental health and well-being of companion animals:

We have animals that have been in unsanitary environments for a long period of time, which can cause them issues medically. And also, too, if you have animals that are living in situations of hoarding then you also often have a lot of psychological issues that the animals are dealing with, too, because they're not living in an environment that's good for their body or their brain.

Moreover, it is important to note that where there is an unwell animal, there is often a human who is unwell. All participants interviewed recognize that a large reason for animal neglect is not intentional abuse, but rather as a result of the mental health issues of animal owners, along with the lack of financial resources and other supports. This finding mirrors research by Arluke (2004,2006) and Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019) that suggests legally defined animal abuse and neglect is often a result of a lack of financial resources, including sufficient funds for veterinary care, rather than intentional acts of violence.

These findings are not to discredit or ignore the instances of intentional animal abuse that occurs in animal protection work, nor to downplay the harm caused to animals by people who

are struggling. Rather, these issues reaffirm that the well-being of animal owners and caretakers significantly impact the welfare of their pets. One participant identifies:

A lot of what we deal with in animal welfare are also people struggling with mental health issues. And so, the impact on their own wellbeing ends up impacting the wellbeing of their animals.

When owners are unwell, it translates into poor physical and psychological health of companion animals. Participants note that this poses significant challenges in their work enforcing the Animal Care Act. An experienced APO explains:

Animals are precious to people, and sometimes these people that have these huge personal problems. Their animal is their touchstone and their best friend and their one friend that doesn't judge them and then I'm running in there and saying, "Well, I understand this...but you're not providing – or your animal requires something", and that can be a really explosive situation. And most of those are medical and most of those are because the population can't afford vet care. And it's super hard to deal with. Especially when they want to do what they need to do and they can't afford it, and we don't have any magic answer for them. And then you're the bully who says, "I get it...but this is what you have to do". So, that can be really hard.

A sociological approach to animal cruelty prevention work

With the understanding that human and animal well-being is linked, APOs emphasize the importance of working with animal owners to try to provide them with the knowledge and support they need to take care of their pets. An APO comments:

Most of these people are good people. How do we get them where we need them to be, so that the animal is in good shape and they can keep their animal, and, you know, keep their family together, but keep them within the bounds of the Animal Care Act?

The APOs recognize that pets are part of people's families. Research shows that non-human animals are increasingly becoming understood as members of the family in a range of contexts (see Akhtar, 2012; Owens & Grauerholz, 2019; Slatter et al., 2012). With this knowledge, most participants acknowledge that establishing a relationship with owners and helping them care for their animals can greatly enhance the lives of both humans and animals involved. Another officer explains that forcefully ticketing and removing animals as outlined by the Animal Care Act is not necessary in all cases. Instead, this officer chooses to talk with people and work with them to find the supports they need to help them take better care of their animals. This is supported by research from Coulter (2019a) and Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019) which discusses animal cruelty officers' experiences in helping animal owners keep their animals. This research proposes that such "[c]ompassionate acts are at the heart of much cruelty investigation work" (p.14). As mentioned above, much of the abuse APOs witness is not purposeful; therefore, finding solutions that benefit both human and animal in these cases is ideal for APOs.

Although APOs are designated to protect the welfare of animals, participants make clear that to ensure the health and well-being of animals, they also promote the welfare of human owners and caretakers. As one officer explains:

People always think its just animals we deal with, but there are owners attached to those animals as well. So, you know, if an owner maybe needs help providing care to their animal, we are here as well to sort of aid them or I guess provide some supports in that aspect – talk to them. And again, an animal that can't speak for itself – you know, we're helping them as well. But at the end of the day there's people involved as well.

APOs recognize that concern for the humans involved is crucial to ensuring the long-term health of companion animals, when there are clear challenges. An officer explains:

You want to see recovery, not only from the animal health standpoint or the animal welfare standpoint, but also from the people that are involved – because you know, if that doesn't happen that you'll be back at the table again addressing an issue. And so, if we end up in those situations where we're going back time and time again because there's no infrastructure to support those individuals from a recovery standpoint, then you're not solving the problem.

In a similar vein, another APO says:

We don't just improve the lives of the animals...we improve the lives of the people with the animals...and you have to be able to do that.

In this sense, some APOs also engage in an aspect of social work as they try to work with pet owners to try and alleviate the conditions (i.e., poverty, poor mental health, etc.) that impact a human's well-being, in the pursuit of protecting the welfare of their companion animals. These findings are supported by Arluke (2004) and Coulter (2019b) who explain that animal cruelty officers are not just protection officers, but also part social worker. The data reveals that this is the case in Manitoba, as well.

One Welfare approach to positive well-being

Being a government office, the CVO has internal connections to other governmental support agencies as well as human health organizations. Given their 'unofficial' role as social workers, APOs often use this relationship to their advantage and refer animal owners who are struggling with mental health concerns or financial distress to these institutions to not only help improve their own health and well-being, but also to ensure the future health of their companion animals. One of the ways the CVO works to improve human and animal well-being is through a One Welfare Approach to collective multi-species health care.

As the CVO is also responsible for the health and welfare of "livestock" animals, One Health's focus on transferring of zoonotic diseases from animals to humans in food production has been central to their approach to multi-species health care. However, for almost a decade, Manitoba's CVO's has adopted a One Welfare structure to their work, particularly animal cruelty protection. In contrast to One Health which has a focus on physical health, One Welfare involves

psychological and mental health typically ignored the One Health community (Akhtar, 2013; Hanrahan, 2014). However, key participants acknowledge social disparities of health as highly significant to effective multi-species health care delivery. As one participant reveals:

Sometimes it's human health, sometimes human well-being, mental health, economics, disparity – trying to figure out how do we move these issues forward in a way that protects the animal health and welfare, but also protects the people involved. And that could be the owners – because if the owners are economically challenged, if they're having human health challenges – sometimes it's aging, sometimes it's mental health, family breakdown, can be a whole bunch of things. How do we also take care of those surrounding issues so that we don't create a crisis?

Here, this participant acknowledges the importance of a multi-species and multi-disciplinary approach to animal cruelty investigation work in improving the well-being of both humans and animals long-term. One example of this multi-disciplinary approach is specific to animal hoarding, which is a common sight in animal cruelty investigation work in Manitoba. This participant explains:

We have a hoarding working group under the One Health model where we pull people from the regional health, central health, some of the other key stakeholders, and also our animal welfare enforcement people. So, my role in that is much more

*building those relationships and building those processes so we can work together
better.*

The same participant further comments on the importance of approaching human and animal health simultaneously through a One Health model:

Frequently government works in silos from department to department and even within departments, from program area to program area. It's been an historical issue that the processes in place don't really support collaboration. So, Manitoba has recognized this over the years and has done a lot of work to kind of break some of those silos down and collaborate better, both functionally and also with processes. The One Health Model facilitates that. And so, it's things like welfare, like we're discussing here has a lot of complicated aspects to it – it's not clean ever. All the cases are very complicated and involve human health issues, human well-being, animal health, animal welfare, economics, social – all kinds of different aspects. And so, that's why we pull in key players from other areas to help us.

It is evident that animal and human health are often dependent, and therefore need to be approached together. As previously examined, a lack of cross-reporting between human and animal health agencies in abusive situations leaves both species vulnerable to violence (Akhtar, 2012). Specific to animal cruelty investigation work, this data is salient as approaching only one component of a health issue may work to perpetuate cruelty on humans, animals, or both. In this

regard, Manitoba's One Welfare approach coincides with and supports the more social work aspects of APOs' labour.

APOs as humane educators

Educating animal owners on minimum standards

Like other provincial animal cruelty legislation in Canada, Manitoba's Animal Care Act defines the minimum standard to which animal owners must care for their animals. Because progressive enforcement extends beyond charges, the educational dimension is a large portion of APO work in the CVO. APOs identify that generational practices play a large role in the treatment of animals throughout the province. An experienced APO states:

I've had people who grow up on a farm and didn't know that they needed a dog house for their dog. Like: "What does it matter? My farm dog was tied up outside our farm when I was a kid my whole life, and the dog was fine", right? So, they just don't know what the standards are.

Aside from the Criminal Code, there have been no previous standards for animal care throughout the province prior to enforcement of the Animal Care Act in 2000. As animal treatment before the introduction of this legislation has been essentially unregulated, APOs have adopted the responsibility of teaching owners how to properly care for their animals based on legislation standards, even if animals may not necessarily be in harm.

APOs also provide education to owners of different cultural backgrounds who may not be familiar with Manitoba's guidelines. As one investigator explains:

Half our job is education. We have a large melting pot in Winnipeg of different religions, ethnicities, language barriers – these are all things that you always have to keep in your mind. There's [only] a small fraction of people that are trying to deliberately hurt something.

As previously noted, APOs most often conclude that harm is not being inflicted deliberately and that correct knowledge and small changes in behaviour are needed. As explained by the investigator above, neglecting to provide the minimum standard for companion animals may be attributed to various cultural backgrounds and practices that are common outside of the North American context (such as leaving dogs outside year-round). It is important to note that APOs acknowledge these cultural differences and work to help animal owners meet the province's minimum standards of care for their animals without critique. This approach is in line with Kim's (2015) notion of multi-optic vision, which involves:

[S]eeing from within various perspectives, moving from one vantage point to another, inhabiting them in turn, holding them in the mind's eye at once...this method of seeing encourages us to move beyond the seductive simplicity of a single-optic storyline and to grapple with the existence and interconnectedness of multiple group experiences of oppression (p.19-20).

By educating animal owners on legal standards of animal care, the aforementioned officer and other APOs reject the 'single optic storyline' of animal cruelty and instead approach each case individually. This is important as not all breaches of animal legislation are intentional, as mentioned throughout this paper, and should be approached multi-optically. Therefore, through education, APOs play a large role in helping rather than demonizing other cultural or racial groups. This approach is further supported by APOs' lack of formal ticketing, which will be examined further below in this section.

Educating the public on minimum standards

In addition to educating pet owners of the standards outlined by the Animal Care Act during investigations, APOs also have the responsibility of educating complainants and the public more broadly on these standards. As mentioned throughout this paper, the public perception of animals has evolved, and now pets are often seen as members of the family. This shift is attributed to increased complaints of animal cruelty in Manitoba. An officer reveals:

We're always struggling to try and keep up. The reported incidents now of infractions have doubled, tripled – every year. And probably a lot of that has to do with social media. We have so much stuff now. "I saw this on Kijiji... I saw this on Facebook". And it's also become easier to report as well.

This participant further comments on the increase of animal cruelty complaints:

People are putting a different standard on animals and a different level on them. So, lots of people think of them – well, my animals are my kids. So, do I spoil the hell out of them? Yea! But, the Animal Care Act is a minimum. You must meet this minimum. So, we get lots of calls where people think there should be higher [standards]. And we would love for it to be, but to maintain its health and welfare, they need to meet this [requirement].

Based on individual perceptions of 'proper' animal care, many of the complaints that APOs receive are not official violations. Arluke (2004) refers to these cases as 'moral

concerns' rather than legal concerns as these complaints are based on opinion rather than the law. Moral concerns pose a challenge for animal cruelty enforcement with limited resources and high complaint volumes. In this sense, education is the largest unwritten job requirement of APOs for two reasons. First, educating pet owners on minimum standards in addition to providing support to meet these standards is important for both the long-term health and well-being of both pets and their owners. Second, educating the public on the minimum standards of animal care is crucial in allocating inspection resources to *legitimate* cases of animal cruelty as outlined by the Animal Care Act.

Changing views on enforcement

As an extension of humane education, APOs take responsibility in changing the public's view of enforcement work. Respondents often become upset or angry if a cruelty complaint has been made against them. One officer offers a reasoning for this:

Instantly people think you're there to take their animals away or give them a ticket or whatever...and that's not what it is. There's certain APOs that will ticket and or fine people, but not everybody does. I don't.

As it is evident that not all Manitoba citizens are aware of the standards outlined in the Animal Care Act, APOs choose to work with owners to meet these care guidelines. Instead of forcefully ticketing and fining animal owners, this officer, alongside many other participants, approach animal cruelty complaints on a personal level and work with animal owners to solve a

problem and keep their families together. This participant conducts investigations in this manner because:

Then we're sort of changing people's perspective of people in authority, right? Like, just because we're in authority doesn't mean we're gunna come – you know, bring down the hammer and be jerks about it.

In this sense, APOs further educate both the public and pet owners of their role as animal enforcement personnel. As another investigator explains, the public sees APOs in a negative light and are fearful of their power to take their animals away. However, as examined above, a large percentage of APOs take the initiative to truly help people and their animals instead of simply enforcing strict laws and regulations. Through this approach, APOs utilize their agency to challenge these common negative stereotypes of enforcement work and generate more positive interactions that aid to multi-species well-being.

Humane approach to animal cruelty enforcement

Through extending care and concern to human owners, some APOs have created important relationships within their communities that contribute to improved animal care. One investigator talks about their experience making relationships with low-income pet owners:

If I can work with the owners and help them understand, or put them in touch with some resources, or like – we carry bags of food, we carry leashes, we carry all sorts of stuff in our van because maybe that's what they need. Maybe they needed a bag of

food to get them through the week and they are panicked – because I see people who are trying to make a decision if they buy milk for their kids, or do they buy the bag of dog food? Well, in my opinion you need to buy the milk for the kids, right? You need to. So, if I can help you and get you through till the next paycheck, then that's great. We can establish those relationships...and we have lots of them, too, with the homeless population. We know lots of them by name and we stop when we see them and we check on their dogs. If we create those relationships when they run on hard times, they'll call [us]. And I would rather them call and say "Hey, this is where I'm at, this is what's happening". You know, "I lost my job...somebody died", whatever, "Can you just help me out?". That's great before the neighbour calls and says: "Well they haven't fed the dog for five days". And then I have to go in the other way. So, I think that's important – helping the people so that we can help the animals.

It is evident that this personal approach to humane enforcement is important for helping owners take care of their animals better and limiting violations of the Animal Care Act. By helping owners care for their animals, APOs help keep multi-species families together, thus strengthening the human-animal bond. As mentioned throughout, this bond has a large impact on both human and animal well-being. Furthermore, as the officer identifies above, this humane approach ideally limits cruelty complaints. This is important in the work-lives of APOs who are understaffed, under resourced, and who may be experiencing compassion fatigue and burnout.

Coulter's (2016) interspecies solidarity is also apparent here. Interspecies solidarity is rooted in empathy with the understanding that animals and humans alike do not have to be like us for their well-being to be considered. Some APOs already apply this concept to their work by

interrupting the power relationship between officer and owner and extending care to humans with various cultural and financial backgrounds. Consequently, through education, material and/or financial supports, and utilizing interspecies solidarity, multi-species well-being improves overall.

Key Finding #3: Worker Well-being

The third key finding illustrates the psychological and physical impact that animal protection work has on APOs in Manitoba. This section discusses the lack of support APOs experience in their work and includes an outline of the current supports extended to workers in all contexts of APO work under the CVO: internal, external, and employed by the WHS. This section also examines uniforms, identification, and workers' compensation in ensuring the well-being of APOs.

Psychological well-being of APOs

Participants frequently feel a lack of support during and after investigations. As previously mentioned, APOs experience high rates of emotional stress and burnout as a result of witnessing companion animals in distressing situations on a day to day basis, making this information particularly salient. Participants note that in their line of work, they often feel isolated and misunderstood. As one officer explains:

Because of what we see, most people like to call our department here the 'dark side'. Our doors are always locked. We don't look happy a lot of the time (laughs). It's hard for other departments to understand what we go through.

For both the CVO and the WHS where investigation work is not the sole duty of each organization, APOs can find it difficult to connect to other staff who lack experience in cruelty investigations. Even outside of the work environment, APOs do not always find the support they need to care for their own well-being. Another APO admits:

My mother doesn't want to know about my job. We don't ever discuss my job...because it freaks her out...what we walk into.

Not only do APOs lack support and understanding from workers within their own organizations, but they also have difficulty connecting to their family and friends who often do not want to discuss their jobs as this information is often traumatizing. This data is congruent with participant responses from Arluke's (2004) study of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (MSPCA). These officers reported not speaking of the details of their work unless they were asked as to not disturb family and friends. Additionally, APOs are bound to confidentiality with respect to many details and events that they encounter, thus leaving them completely secluded. This is problematic, as without proper supports, APOs well-being has the potential to decrease significantly and workers can find their job more difficult to sustain overtime.

Participants explain that some very experienced APOs left their positions within the CVO as they experienced high levels of emotional stress and burnout, which is in line with data from Arluke (2004) and Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019). One participant explains that stress from this work severely affects the mental health and well-being of APOs who see devastating situations daily. They state: *"We know that stress...stress can end you"*. This comment serves a dual

purpose. Here, this officer is referring to how stress can impact the future of APOs in the field of animal protection work. They explain that they have lost some very experienced and passionate APOs because they could no longer perform this type of work due to the stressful nature of animal protection. However, this comment also transfers into the personal lives of APOs as well. Participants express that their work does not end after they finish their shift, rather they often carry the emotional aspects of their work home with them. This mirrors responses by participants in Arluke's (2004) study as MPSCA officers became so personally and emotionally involved in their work that "these officers 'took their work home' and worried about their cases" (p.26). In this sense, the stress that APOs experience at work has the potential to cause so much emotional distress that it could negatively impact their personal well-being and lives outside of work.

Another officer comments on this:

I think [it's] because people naturally have a high level of empathy. They can't not take their work home. And that has a toll and it takes a toll at the time.

This quote is even more true for external APOs who work from home. These workers do not physically leave an office at the end of the day; therefore, their work life and personal life are constantly intertwined. For most of these workers, animal cruelty investigation is not just their job, but rather a part of their life, their identity, and their purpose. As Rhinehart (2006) explains:

Today employed adults ordinarily spend at least one-third of their waking hours on the job. What people do during these hours often penetrates to the very core of their personalities. Work can offer a sense of accomplishment or meaninglessness; it can be a source of pride or shame. And an activity that consumes such a large portion of time cannot help but spill over into nonwork spheres of life (p.1).

Caring for animals is central to the lives of animal cruelty officers, hence why APOs continue to engage in cruelty investigation work, despite how it affects them socially or psychologically. Furthermore, APOs reported that they felt like the only source of protection for these animals. This data is supported by research from Coulter and Fitzgerald (2019) who report OSPCA officers as “feeling unable to shut off, literally or figuratively, working well beyond their shift, foregoing vacation, and feeling guilty while on vacation worrying about animals who might not be getting the protection they need” (p.12). It is evident that the well-being of animals is a top priority for APOs in both their professional and personal lives. Furthermore, as officers cannot escape their work, the emotional stress and burnout of this work continues to impact their overall well-being.

The research on anti-cruelty officers’ well-being has focused on workers in charities, and the data on Manitoba reaffirms that this is challenging labour, whether publicly-funded or not. As is the case for other workers who must confront abuse, harm, and suffering on a daily basis such as paramedics and human-focused police, difficulties of this kind will always be part of the job. Whether Manitoba’s specific approaches are best serving front-lines workers, and, more broadly, how the public sector can open additional avenues for better protecting and supporting workers, are crucial questions I revisit in the conclusion.

Current approaches to mental health support for APOs

As previously examined, animal cruelty investigation work is highly stressful and can negatively impact APOs well-being. Maintaining the welfare of APOs is crucial not only for their personal health, but also for the animals involved and the overall success of animal cruelty

investigations. The following discussion identifies and debates the efficacy of current mental and psychological supports for all APOs enforcing the Animal Care Act in Manitoba.

Internal APO support

Internal APOs who work directly with Manitoba's CVO have access to the Employee and Family Assistance Program (EFAP), which is a voluntary mental health service provided to workers within Manitoba government. EFAP offers "confidential counselling, wellness tools and resources, specialized trauma management, conflict resolution and workplace assessment services" (Manitoba Government, n.d.) to both employees and their families who are impacted by their job in their home and work life ("Employee and Family Assistance Program [EFAP]", n.d.). This program is free of charge and completely confidential. Workers can access these services by calling this program directly. These services are advertised on the Manitoba Government's website as well as within each department.

However, despite promotion of, and access to these services, some participants interviewed explain that mental health of their workers is first approached as a team. For example, one officer says:

Within the CVO we've recognized the need for kind of supporting one another. So, I would say we have a fairly good informal support group where we'll check in with one another from time to time and say: "Okay, I know you had whatever issue go on and that was stressful. How are you doing?", and just kind of informally talk with people and make sure everyone is doing okay, and if somebody needs help, we can provide assistance. But, that's just an informal kind of group because we're a close-

knit team that knows how to work together. But also, within government there are counselling services that are available to staff. So, if people are struggling, whether it's with work issues or an issue with their duties out in the field or even things like family issues that people are dealing with or financial problem, there is support within government to provide some resources for that. Though usually it's handled more kind of as a team and if further support is needed then there are counselling services that are available within government.

In addition, another APO adds:

I myself with the staff that I work with, the animal protection officers that work for us, I make sure if I know someone is struggling that I check in with them verbally and see how they're doing and, you know, sometimes all you need is to be able to talk to someone. And it might be needing to vent because you're frustrated, or angry, or sad...and I think that sometimes that can go a really long way or at the very least, kind of know that there's somebody out there who's kind of, watching out for you and has a vested interest in your own health and well-being.

The fact that employees have a vested interest in each other's well-being is beneficial in acknowledging mental health struggles among APOs before they intensify. Due to the stigma around mental health which often cause people to refrain from accessing care, this close relationship between workers has the potential to help aid and support APOs in seeking government mental health services that are beneficial to their personal and professional well-

being. Additionally, as supervisors and other employees within the CVO have experience in the field, these workers have the capacity to aid APOs in a way that may be non-existent with EFAP, as this program is offered to all government employees and not tailored specifically to APOs.

However, this ‘informal support system’ as referenced by APOs can also be problematic, as there is a power imbalance between APOs and their supervisors. Because of this power differential, APOs may not want to discuss their mental health issues for fear of losing hours or losing their job altogether. As one participant explains:

I think with the Animal Protection Officers that I work with, ones that I know are busy and do a lot of our work for us, I do think that they have a committed level of support from other people within their personal lives. And so, that is definitely a benefit for them. And, do I know whether or not they've had to seek professional assistance directly related to the work they do as an Animal Protection Officer? I don't have the answers to those questions. I don't know whether or not. But, that's what I feel is important for myself – to touch base with those individuals on a regular basis to make sure that they tell me honestly whether or not they're doing okay and whether or not they're in a position to be able to work as often as they do. Because among other things, one of the main things is if somebody is indicating to us that they're stressed or not coping well as a result of the work that they're doing for us, then we have the ability to cut back on the amount of work that we give them so they have the ability to address their own needs and then let us know if and when they're able to resume their workload.

Although supervisors are approaching the mental health of their APOs from a personal standpoint to better connect with and support their workers, this method may also deter employees from addressing concerns if they sense their hours may be reduced as a result. Workers rely on their jobs as APOs for income, therefore they may be less likely to seek help for any emotional stress they experience. Subsequently, as previously examined, APOs choose to continue this work despite the negative health effects because of their love for these animals. Therefore, APOs may choose not to consult about any mental health struggles as they feel a strong responsibility for the well-being of these animals and do not want to take personal time off for fear of neglecting the animals. In this sense, a system that supports workers' emotional and financial well-being may be beneficial.

Additionally, the previous comment about APOs having a high level of familial support contradicts what other participants say about the lack of family and friend support in their line of work. While it may be true that a portion of APOs have a strong social unit to help support them, this cannot be said about all APOs. Therefore, generating a mental health service that can reach these individuals is crucial to their ability to effectively perform their job duties. Many of these findings likely mirror dynamics in other public sector organizations such as child protective services, and some of these issues are not unique to animal cruelty investigations work or to the CVO in Manitoba. Since I cannot effectively compare these services to those offered in peer organizations or other jurisdictions, the findings are not tidy. What is most salient is that officer well-being continues to be an area of utmost importance in difficult employment fields like anti-cruelty, and that finding the best ways to support those struggling should remain front-of-mind.

External APO support

In comparison to employees of the CVO, external APOs do not have access to any health or counselling services in their work. Because these workers are contracted and therefore considered independent contractors, they are exempt from EFAP and must rely on other mental health services. For most APOs, animal cruelty investigation work is a source of secondary income. Therefore, if these workers need access to mental health services, they are required to utilize the services offered by their primary employer or to seek support on their own. Whether external APOs have access to additional services through a primary employer is unclear and likely varies. For example, one participant admits:

Anybody that does anything like, this kind of work, either child welfare, animal welfare...I mean, you're going to be going into situations that are not great. So, having some sort of – I mean, the mental health benefits that I get from being a social worker...really there aren't any either. I mean, there's the phone number that you can call basically, and that's it, right?

Mental health services are crucial to the success of APOs and the efficacy of animal protection work under the CVO. By not providing external APOs with access to some form of counselling services, APOs are required to search for these services on their own. Mental health services may not be provided through their primary employer, thus leaving these external staff to fend for themselves. This is a challenge for independent contractors across fields and not unique to APOs.

WHS APO support

With their benefits, APOs working with the Winnipeg Humane Society have access to a therapist three times a year to discuss and manage mental health concerns that arise in this line of work. Because the WHS is a charity, the fact that APOs have access to counselling services, though limited, is particularly laudable. However, one investigator identifies that this counselling is not always a strong match for this workforce and its particulars:

These therapists are not equipped to deal with what we're dealing with. They kind of look at you and go: "I don't know what to do with that" because we're kind of a special group. We would fall more into what police see and what firefighters see and what ambulance see, what first responders see and what they're walking into.

As discussed above, APOs witness high instances of both animal and human abuse in their work. In this sense, having a therapist who is trained to help patients who have experienced this trauma would be beneficial to the well-being of these workers. Currently, therapists available to APOs do not have experience working with first responders. This is a deterrence for APOs as they may not choose to access such services as they do not find them beneficial. Subsequently, this participant further argues that because of what APOs witness in animal cruelty investigation work, counselling sessions should be mandatory for all workers:

I honestly would probably make it mandatory that my guys go a couple of times a year because I've seen in other people who aren't here any more how that killed them, and they had to walk away. So, that would be nice. It might cut back on – I

wouldn't say that we have a high huge turnover...but, being able to keep those experienced people and keep them healthy and, and doing the job, because it's very hard to train – this is on the job training. I don't have a manual that goes: "Here's how it is to be an APO". You're learning from the senior people and everything. I see at least one thing a day where I go: "Oh God, I haven't seen that before", and I've been doing it for, you know, eight years (laughs). So, and that's one thing that I love about it. I love the challenge. But, then again...yea, you walk into some pretty atrocious stuff that doesn't really go away. So, humans are not kind to each other or to animals. So, that would be good. I would like to see something in place for the APO's support.

Here, this APO acknowledges the connection between APO well-being and the efficacy between animal cruelty investigation work. Ensuring the health of existing workers is crucial to the success of this work as it is highly specialized and requires workers who are passionate and committed to caring for animals despite the negative impact it has on their own well-being. In this regard, effective mental health counselling for APOs in the field is necessary to keep both workers and animals safe and healthy throughout the province. I will expand on this issue in the conclusion.

Physical health of APOs

Research shows that animal cruelty officers and others enforcing animal-related laws often experience threats and/or actual instances of physical harm during investigations (Coulter

& Fitzgerald, 2019; Rault, Nowicki, Adams, & Rock, 2018). Manitoba APOs face similar risks.

As one participant discloses:

I think I have four or five death threats on file. Do I think they're necessarily going to act out on those? Maybe not (laughs). But, we take them seriously.

In response to threats to officers' physical safety and well-being, the WHS has implemented a policy which mandates that APOs must travel in pairs when investigating complaints of animal cruelty. Given that there are only five (four full-time, one part-time) APOs working with the WHS in Winnipeg, ERs (emergency responders) accompany APOs on investigations to provide additional support. As mentioned in the first key finding, partnered investigations allow officers to divide tasks, increase safety and security, and conduct more thorough investigations. It also allows for co-workers who witness and experience the same difficult situations to talk and provide reciprocal support. Therefore, ERs are helping WHS APOs (and vice versa). In contrast, APOs who are contracted by the CVO, respond to cruelty complaints alone. Investigators thus rely on their own modes of safety to protect themselves against threats of violence. One officer describes the safety precautions they take:

It's hard – because of confidentiality reasons, I'm not really supposed to give information out. But I always text my [spouse] the address that I'm going to so that someone knows where I am, right? So, you know...that's kind of a breech in confidentiality. [They don't] know why I'm going there, but [they know] where I'm going. And [they know] that when I text [them] the address, if I don't text [them]

back in fifteen minutes that I'm okay, [they have] to text me again, and if I don't respond [they have] to call the police and tell them where I am.

Although a breach of confidentiality of the Animal Welfare Program, this APO feels it necessary to communicate with their family, instead of their employer, during investigations to help protect them self. This act signifies a future area of improvement for animal cruelty investigations to ensure the physical safety and mental well-being of investigators. The concept of humane jobs can be applied here to address this issue by implementing stronger safety procedures for external workers to make their job better while also indirectly helping the animals who are the focus of cruelty investigations.

Workers compensation

Physical health is a strong component of one's overall well-being, yet most APOs in Manitoba do not qualify for workers' compensation. APOs working with the WHS are unionized and are protected if they are injured at work. As previously noted, internal APOs employed directly by the CVO have access to such benefits, but external APOs who are classified as independent contractors do not qualify for these protections.

As explained above, animal cruelty investigations are a second source of income for most of Manitoba's APOs. These workers often rely on their primary job for most health benefits; however, as APO work puts investigators at high risk for injury, some form of benefits should be devoted to ensuring the physical well-being of these workers. One investigator highlights the need for workers' compensation:

Because there's a high chance that you could get hurt at this job. And if you do, you're out of luck, right? You can get hurt by an animal, you can get hurt by a human, you can get hurt just by trying to maneuver your way around places sometimes and stuff like that. Especially if you're on farms and stuff like that you can easily fall in a hole or, you know, roll your ankle, break your ankle...that kind of stuff, and then you're off work.

The physical safety of APOs is crucial to their ability to conduct investigations and provide necessary care to animals and their owners. Given that external APOs have a large responsibility for the animal protection work throughout the province and these workers have a high risk of getting hurt on the job, from both people and animals, it is evident that APOs need more protections.

Uniforms and identification

Uniforms and identification are also useful for ensuring the safety and well-being of APOs during investigations. Investigators who work with the WHS are provided with vehicles, uniforms, and other necessary equipment to respond to complaints. As external APOs are independent employees, they have no mandated uniform or vehicles with decals identifying themselves as investigators in Manitoba. In fact, many officers use their family cars when travelling to investigations, which accompanies its own risks (see also Coulter and Fitzgerald, 2019).

Furthermore, in Manitoba, APOs face potential harm while conducting investigations without proper uniform identification. It is important to note that external APOs do carry a

provincially-provided badge which can be presented at investigations; however, this identification is not always enough. One investigator discloses a story where a lack of identification became problematic during an investigation:

I had one situation where it was nighttime – and it looked like it was a non-resident property. So, there were concerns about barn cats not being fed and [the complainant] said the owner comes and goes. So, in my mind I'm like: 'Okay, so no one lives there'. So, I thought: 'Okay, I can go when it's dark because no one is going to be there when it's dark. So, I can at least take a look at what has been left for them overnight, get a good idea and then come back tomorrow and deal with the owner'. So, I pull up, and it's a long driveway, and there's a house there. And the lights are on in the house, but there's no car in the driveway. So, I go, I do my looking around and stuff like that, and I go to get back in my car and a car pulls in the driveway. And then it stops and shuts off the engine. Well, that's my only way out. So, I'm sitting in my car and I'm like: 'Okay, what do I do?'. So, I called one of my APOs, and of course she gave me crap for going somewhere after dark. Well, I'm like, "Well, it's wintertime...it gets dark at four thirty. So, if I'm going to do any type of work in the evening it's going to be in the dark". And I said that I legitimately didn't think anybody lived here. So, I had to call the police because that person was just sitting there. They weren't coming to approach me. I have no idea who this person is. I wasn't in the middle of nowhere, but I was way down this long driveway off of any main road. So, I had to call the police. Well, they [the person in the other car] were on the phone with the police because they didn't know who I was. So, it

ended up working out fine. But that was a situation that could have been completely different had that been a property owner that was really angry.

Here, this participant eludes to that the lack of identification made them vulnerable and feel as though their safety was threatened, hence why they called police. In this situation, a properly labelled animal cruelty investigation vehicle would have provided this APO a sense of security and protection during their inspection being identified as enforcement personnel. In addition to protection, uniforms may help shift public opinion on animal cruelty investigation officers. A retired police officer turned APO comments on the importance of the optics of a uniform:

I firmly believe in wearing the uniforms in this kind of work. You're a front-line officer, you're not a detective. You're not going out there doing surveillance per se and so on. I think that you would command a lot more, we'll call it respect from the general public, by wearing a uniform. If you're going out wearing cruddy jeans, dirty boots, and a checkered shirt of some sort, or a worn-out jacket...that doesn't command respect. They'll wonder who the hell you are.

APOs are front-line officers who respond to a variety of complaints from minor disputes to dangerously violent situations. These workers are thus worthy of acknowledgement and respect for the difficult work they do. Implementing uniforms for all APOs would be beneficial in helping the public identify who they are, which will ideally warrant more public respect and work to minimize threats.

As a retired police officer, the aforementioned worker understands the importance of a uniform in enforcement work. This participant continues this practice in their position as an APO. This officer has created their own uniform of what they feel would be best suited for animal protection work:

And I do by the way, I have my own outfit. But I also think at the same time that you shouldn't be dressed 'gung-ho'. You shouldn't be wearing tactical pants and a fancy bullet proof vest thing like you're a paratrooper type of thing. You should have a proper uniform. I personally wear a navy-blue golf shirt...short sleeve...it's got the APO badge sewn on it on the left side. It's got my name on the other side. Whenever I go knocking on a door, unless they ask me, I don't have to provide identification. So, I think it should be a mandatory thing.

It is noteworthy that this officer feels that a 'proper' APO uniform should not be like the uniform of a police officer but rather simple and non-threatening. This comment is particularly interesting for understanding APOs as enforcement workers. Unlike police officers who *do* wear items such as tactical pants and bullet proof vests for both identification and protection, this investigator believes because investigators are often negotiating and managing sensitive human-animal relationships, it is important for APOs to appear professional, but also non-threatening. As this research shows, animal owners can become upset and potentially aggressive when they feel their relationship to their animal is threatened. Therefore, how an officer approaches a complaint has a large impact on the outcome of an investigation (see also Coulter 2019a); part of this approach is the attire of APOs. In this sense, I would argue that APO uniforms should not

only identify workers and command a certain level of respect from the general public, but they should also present officers in a way that does not impart control and fear over respondents. All participants in this study express their love for animals and their desire to see both them and their owners happy and healthy. Therefore, a uniform can be a useful tool in establishing rapport with the public that not only validates APOs as enforcement workers, but also reflects the core values of APOs in ensuring the well-being of people and their pets (see Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2019 for further discussion of workers' views of uniforms, particularly their gendered implications).

The idea of a uniform for all APOs has been proposed to the CVO by staff. In addition to producing their own APO uniform, this officer has also talked to their supervisors and fellow APOs about adopting a uniform for all the officers. As previously examined, the only APOs who wear uniforms are employed through the WHS. This discrepancy is problematic as the public has a misinformed understanding of who APOs are; hence, there are increased risk of safety threats for internal and external APOs who are only required to wear carry an identification card. Creating and enforcing a uniform for all APOs in Manitoba is another aspect of humane education as well as humane jobs as it will ideally help educate the public on who these workers are while protecting their safety on the job. Furthermore, as workers are hired in various contexts under Manitoba Agriculture, uniforms may create and strengthen a sense of unity among all APOs. Given the various contexts and responsibilities of all APOs, these uniforms may not need to be the same in all aspects; however, some similarity in identifying APOs across the province would be a beneficial next step for the CVO.

These preventative measures in combination with reactive supports such as workers compensation would provide a more holistic approach in ensuring the health and well-being of APOs, which has a great impact on their ability to do their job in protecting animal welfare. It is

evident that these supports would begin to transform animal protection work into a humane job. For instance, through uniforms, APOs will ideally spend less time identifying themselves and proving their qualifications and instead can focus their attention on investigating complaints. Therefore, by prioritizing the safety and well-being animal cruelty officers through preventative and reactive methods, APOs, animals, and their owners all benefit.

Key Finding #4: Police Assistance and Conflict

The fourth key finding examines the challenges of police involvement in animal cruelty investigations. This section addresses the lack of knowledge police officers have of their responsibilities under the Animal Care Act and the impact this has on APOs in Manitoba.

Police assistance in animal cruelty investigations

As noted in the section above, APOs can investigate animal cruelty complaints alongside police to decrease threats to their physical safety. Particularly for external APOs who travel and work alone, investigators may request a police officer in potentially dangerous situations where they may fear for their well-being. When APOs receive a work order for an investigation, they are often warned by dispatchers from the Animal Care Line whether they should take extra caution before arriving at a residence based on information recorded in the CVO database of prior complaints and investigations. For example, one officer notes:

If we have a history of concern about someone's behaviour, they will say "Go with police", which is something I don't do often. But I have done when there's concerns, you know, mental health maybe or someone in the past has been aggressive or

threatening. Again, we work alone so we will definitely bring police. Their job is to keep the peace really in that situation – they don't really take over anything. They're just there to make sure that everybody is safe and what not.

Having police officers present during animal cruelty investigations benefits APOs who feel their safety is at risk as police have more legal powers than animal enforcement officers. Not only does police assistance ensure APOs' sense of security during investigations, but police also act as a mediator when respondents are wary of the legitimacy of APOs. In instances where animal owners attempt to cease an investigation, a participant comments:

I tell them [respondents] that I do have to complete my inspection: "I will call the police for assistance if necessary. Would you prefer that?" – Because some people prefer that because they don't know who I am, and they don't know what the Animal Care Act is. I have a badge and I have an ID, but still, who the heck am I, right?

This research confirms that the public is, at times, not familiar with the Animal Care Act or the roles and responsibilities of APOs throughout the province. Additionally, although APOs are legitimate legal enforcement officers, a large portion of respondents do not view them as such, and thus request police services during investigations to protect their own rights.

Issues with requesting police assistance

Although both the public and investigators often feel safer with police present, the process of requesting police services for animal cruelty investigations is challenging for APOs.

First, individual APOs are required to contact police directly for assistance during each investigation. Second, as police officers have a large human jurisdiction, there are often not enough police officers to assist APOs in a timely manner, which negatively impacts animal officers' ability to respond to complaints affecting the lives of the animals who need help. An APO comments on these conflicts:

We'll just call police detachment, or Winnipeg non-emergency if it's in Winnipeg, and just let them know and then try to coordinate with police. Obviously, with Winnipeg police it can be really tricky because they have a huge queue, so it depends on the severity of the situation.

Similarly, another officer explains:

If we think or we have a feeling, or we're told to be wary, we will have police attend with us, which isn't the easiest as well because they're trying to do their job across the city. So, sometimes we have to wait.

Once dispatchers issue an investigation request to APOs, it is up to each individual officer's discretion to decide whether they require police as well as their duty to contact police directly to request their assistance. The extra responsibility for APOs accompanied with the fact that police are not always available for investigations makes it difficult to respond to animal cruelty complaints with the urgency they require. This explains why some APOs have resorted to their own forms of protection during investigations, as seen in the comment above. Furthermore,

as police tend to only serve the purpose of ‘keeping the peace’ and are not active participants in investigations, APOs will often respond to cases alone to solve an animal welfare issue as soon as possible.

Police officers are also APOs

As the Animal Care Act states, an animal protection officer is a person appointed as an APO under the Act, as well as any police officer in Manitoba. However, human-centered officers are often not knowledgeable on their roles as APOs. One officer offers an explanation to this: *“It is common because they’re not trained on it. So, they don’t know. Even the supervisors”*.

Another participant talks about police confusion during cruelty investigations:

Most police officers don’t even know they’re Animal Protection Officers. So, when I go: “Whatcha wanna do with that dog?” ... “Well, I’m giving it to you” ... “So, do you wanna do it under the Criminal Code or under the Animal Care Act?”, and they go: “What!?” (laughs). Cuz they don’t know!

Conflicting knowledge on police power during animal cruelty investigations causes some conflict for APOs. At the start of their career in animal investigation work as an ER, a long-serving APO highlights a case where they had to rely on police to seize an injured dog whose owner did seek medical care after the animal was hit by a car:

The police could take the dog, but they weren't aware of the Animal Care Act and that they could exercise powers under the Animal Care Act. So, they basically said: "No, a dog is property. We can't seize it without a warrant". We were saying: "Yes you can. Under the Animal Care Act, you can".

In this case, this officer found them self teaching the police officer about their role and responsibility as an APO, which is a common experience for APOs working in conjunction with police officers. It is evident that in addition to educating the public and complainants, and animal owners on legal animal care, APOs engage in further humane education as they also teach police officers about their roles in animal cruelty cases.

This lack of knowledge is problematic as police assistance are a crucial component to the success of animal cruelty work where APOs have limited enforcement power. As another officer acknowledges:

We [APOs] don't even actually have what's called police officer status...we're just plain animal protection officers. So, we don't have the same powers of arrest and so on as what police officers have. So, I've actually been involved in investigations where I phoned up and asked police officers in another jurisdiction to come along with me in the event that a person has to be detained or arrested or even in a case where people are going to be violent or something like that.

As officers lack many enforcement powers, APOs rely heavily on the police for not only their physical protection, but also for the success of animal cruelty investigations where police

powers, such as arrest, are needed. Police presence during an investigation allows APOs to conduct their work with more security as police have more power and in turn are typically seen by the public as having more authority than APOs. This reassurance thus strengthens the investigation process and helps APOs to take care of the animals in need. However, as this work is currently organized, APOs are frequently educating police on their responsibility under the Animal Care Act. This lack of police understanding of their duties as APOs causes stress during the investigation process where APOs, with less legal enforcement power, must teach police on how to properly investigate. Also, the miscommunication of police roles under the Animal Care Act causes police to direct animal cruelty complaints solely to APOs, which can be problematic given their limited power and reliance on police officers. It is evident that this cycle of miscommunication interferes with the success of some animal cruelty inspections.

Re-directing responsibility

In addition to a lack of education and understanding of their role as APOs in Manitoba, police officers often purposely reject animal cruelty investigation work as they are already overwhelmed by their workloads. A retired police officer, now APO, who has first-hand knowledge of this division of labour, explains:

There's a lack of interest from the police department, police officers in particular, to deal with animal protection issues...animal welfare issues. They would prefer to pass them on to us...to animal protection officers.

With APOs being the most specialized in their field in addition to the heavy workload of human-centered officers, complaints of animal cruelty often become the sole responsibility of APOs,

with police playing a smaller supportive role. As previously referenced, addressing human and animal issues separately can be problematic as the well-being of these groups is highly linked. Therefore, police officers and APOs have the potential to not only support each other in their work, but to also address human-animal issues more holistically and effectively.

Memorandums of understanding between human and animal investigators

A key factor in addressing human-animal issues from a more holistic approach, is the sharing of information among human and animal officers. However, due to privacy reasons, critical case information gathered by human-centered police regarding an abused animal is not available to animal cruelty enforcement. The withholding of this information creates a challenge for an APO when they are trying to help a potentially abused or neglected animal. One APO requests for more communication between police and APOs through a memorandum of understanding:

One of the huge things that would make our lives so much easier, was if we were able to have MOUs [memorandum of understandings] with police department. Everybody is so cut off on what they can share. So, if we had the ability to share information – I don't need to know about the drug portion or whatever was going on in that case. It used to be easier – it's gotten tightened up. So, say they [police] remove a dog from a situation, I'm not there, I haven't seen it. They go: "Here". And I'm like, "Great, we'll help you out in any way we can, but you've gotta tell me what was going on there". And then, their higher ups go: "Nope, can't release that"... "What do you want me to do?"... "Well, it can't go back to the owners".

It is evident that the lack of communication and sharing of case information restricts APOs from helping animal in potentially harmful situations. Without pertinent information regarding the seizure of an animal, APOs cannot file any paperwork on the animal, and thus are unable to properly protect these animals to their full capacity. As another officer confirms:

Sometimes we can't proceed on stuff because they won't give us anything and something probably should have been proceeded on there...but I'll never know.

Restrictions on sharable case information not only inhibits APOs from protecting animals in need of care, but it also has potentially perpetuates abuse if animals are returned to their previous homes. Considering police officers are also APOs, the sharing of this information should be permitted. More so, as animal cruelty officers themselves, police have the capacity to process animals seized from abusive homes on their own. Despite their abilities as APOs, police continue to rely on APOs to manage the animals in abuse cases while still being restricted in what information they can share. An officer comments on the relationship they have with police:

We have great officers, but they move, right? They get transferred. They move around from one district to the other. You lose them...people retire. So, every year all those contacts you made then go out the door. Some huge animal lovers in the police have come forward to help us in many ways, but we need it from their top people saying: "Yes, you can share this". I've had officers and sergeants share and forward paperwork and forward their casework. They redact out the stuff I don't

need to know about. But, “This is what happened with the animal and these are the people that owned it” and boom! Great, we can help you out. That’s all it took. And then I have other ones who go: “Our bosses won’t let us”.

Another APO comments further:

If they were able to like, meet with us and learn why we can be of aid to them and how they can be of aid to us to help this community...God, that would be my dream if I could do that.

Given that human and animal violence is often linked, and police and APOs are frequently required to work together, it is evident that a memorandum of understanding or a more formal way of sharing pertinent case information would be helpful for both human-centered and animal focused officers to complete their work. Coulter’s (2016) concept of humane jobs can be applied here as sharing information would place human workers in a better position to be able to help animals, which allows officers to do their job more quickly and effectively, thus increasing their job satisfaction and happiness. Furthermore, linking human and animal enforcement work is important in eradicating multi-species violence. In this sense, both animal and human focused officers could benefit.

Expanding APO powers

Animal protection work could be re-evaluated to make the jobs of APOs better, make the work of police officers easier, to more efficaciously help animals, and to help human beings who

may also be experiencing violence. One participant offers a solution to improving their work as an APO:

The limitations [of my work] are not having the power to go outside of the Animal Care Act. I firmly believe that the minister responsible could grant us, again I'll use the term 'limited jurisdiction', give us the power to lay Criminal Code charges. But that would be limited to, I think it is section 400 of the criminal code, that deals with cruelty to animals and so on. We should have that ability to lay those charges, and we don't. If we were granted special constable status in the province, we could have more powers, specifically associated to this line of work.

This participant explains why APOs should have special constable status:

Because we are limited to some extent. I believe it's a CVO policy if we get ourselves in a predicament with someone that's belligerent and trying to, you know, overcome us by threatening us or even assaulting us, they want us just to walk away from it. And I agree that's the way it should be dealt with, especially when we have limited powers. But we should be able to in any situation, especially if there's a couple of us, to be able to just basically arrest a person if we have to. Take the person into custody...not have to wait two or three or four hours to bring in someone from another detachment because they're too busy to just go with it, you know?

Giving APOs special constable status is not uncommon in animal cruelty investigation work and may be worth considering in Manitoba. This could open the door to officers using Criminal Code charges, although in all Canadian provinces, this avenue is infrequently used by law enforcement and reserved for the most egregious cases of animal cruelty. Such an expansion would have also implications for the level of law enforcement and investigative experience needed. Moreover, independent contractors cannot lay criminal code charges.

Key Finding #5: Structural Inequalities Between APOs

Indeed, the stratified system used in Manitoba's hybrid public-private delivery model is noteworthy. The fifth and final key finding illustrates the significant differences among the different categories of APOs working in Manitoba. The purpose of this section is to organize and highlight the stratification of the various organizations of APO work in Manitoba. Chart 1 below summarizes and reiterates the data collected on internal, external, and WHS APOs. A discussion about the inequities between classification of APOs will follow. These inequities inform my recommendations for Manitoba's CVO discussed in the conclusion.

Chart 1: Comparing APO Work Relations in Manitoba		
Internal APOs (Employees of CVO)	External APOs (Independent Contractors)	Winnipeg Humane Society APOs (Contracted by the CVO).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Existing CVO staff appointed as APOs ➤ Work-full time with CVO in various positions (Complete investigations as part of their jobs if necessary) ➤ Salaried workers (Amount based off full-time position with CVO) ➤ Unionized with MGGEU ➤ Receive benefits through EFAP (Employee and Family Assistance Program) ➤ Government vehicles for inspections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hired as independent contractors ➤ Work part-time (generally a secondary career for most APOs) ➤ Paid hourly for services (must log work hours and tasks) ➤ No benefits (must rely on primary job for benefits, if any) ➤ Use personal/family vehicles for investigations ➤ No required uniform (However, these officers do carry an APO identification card) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hired directly by WHS as ERs then get promoted to APOs, (contracted by CVO to conduct investigations in Winnipeg) ➤ Unionized ➤ Paid hourly ➤ Have access to therapist three times a year ➤ Travel in WHS investigation vehicles ➤ Wear uniform

Lack of mental health supports for external APOs

Given that APOs experience high rates of burnout and stress in animal cruelty investigation work, mental health supports are crucial in maintaining APO well-being and the overall success as animal cruelty prevention work. However, based on their status (internal,

external, or hired by the WHS), APOs qualify for different mental health benefits, and sometimes are provided with no support.

As government employees, internal APOs working with the CVO are eligible to access EFAP, which provides unlimited and anonymous mental health counselling services. As independent contractors, external APOs do not receive benefits through the CVO. Instead, these workers must rely on their primary employer for benefits. Yet, not all external staff have other jobs, and even if they do, benefits are not always a guarantee. Moreover, as the WHS is responsible for complaints in Winnipeg (workers who qualify for benefits within their union), the Ministry of Agriculture relies heavily on external APOs for the success of animal cruelty investigations throughout all other regions of Manitoba. Therefore, these workers investigate a large percentage of animal cruelty complaints. Given this information, in conjunction with the challenging and often trying work of animal protection, it seems questionable to not provide external APOs with mental health benefits and supports.

Absence of uniforms and identification a risk to APO safety

Uniforms and identification are important in ensuring the health and safety of APOs on the job. As previously addressed, uniforms and other identifying articles, such as provincial investigation vehicles, educate the public of animal enforcement personnel, while they also limit threats to their individual safety during investigations.

While internal APOs do not have uniforms per se, they do investigate complaints in provincial vehicles identifying them as employees of the Ministry of Agriculture. APOs working with the WHS are provided with both uniforms and investigation vehicles. However, as independent contractors, external APOs are not required to have a uniform. Furthermore, these

officers travel to complaints in their personal and family vehicles, which has its own risks. These officers do carry an identification badge provided by the CVO; however, this badge is not easily visible to respondents. Participants express that they feel vulnerable and that their safety often threatened as respondents cannot easily identify them. Therefore, a lack of uniforms and proper investigation tools (i.e., vehicles) in combination with the fact that these workers travel alone in often remote areas, causes external APOs to experience an increased risk to their physical safety in comparison to internal and WHS APOs.

Inconsistent training/qualifications among APOs

Before being appointed as official APOs under Manitoba's Ministry of Agriculture, all investigators are required to complete an eight-hour training course. Although participants reported that training is inadequate in introducing new officers to animal cruelty work, there are additional training inconsistencies which impact the ability of APOs to conduct investigations. For example, since WHS APOs begin their career as ERs, they have years of invaluable on-the-job experience before ever being appointed as APOs. Aside from the percentage of retired WHS APOs who now work as external APOs, the internal and external APOs do not receive this first-hand investigation experience. The Ministry of Agriculture does require that internal and external APOs have a background in animal care and/or husbandry to be considered as an APO. However, the type and length of experience varies among participants.

This inconsistency in APO training and qualifications is unsettling as it potentially places officers, particularly internal and external, in danger during investigations. Additionally, the various hiring and training practices of APOs may also negatively impact the consistency and

efficacy investigations overall. These inequities and recommendations to address them are further examined below.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

When this study first began, I did not know that this research would prove to be relevant in a very timely conversation about the future of animal cruelty investigation work across Canada, and the efficacy and legality of privatized and charity-based law enforcement. The spirit of engaged theory became even more salient, as I generated knowledge about one of Canada's only publicly-funded systems of animal cruelty investigations. As human and animal well-being are linked and interdependent, the implications of this research have potential to benefit animals and people. Therefore, the lens of interspecies solidarity has allowed me to position myself with, and in support of, both humans and animals. Furthermore, multi-optic vision has encouraged me to see the interconnectedness of different social groups, which through this research proves is essential for strengthening multi-species well-being.

As Manitoba's CVO is not well-researched, a case study is important for creating baseline knowledge. In this regard, face-to-face interviews were important for experiencing the CVO first-hand. Given the sensitive nature of animal cruelty work and that the CVO is a government office, semi-structured interviews generated good rapport between my research participants and me and facilitated the collection of rich data. In triangulating my data, document analysis, although limited, solidified and augmented my understanding which was imperative for more thoroughly: 1) understanding Manitoba's CVO and its workers in more detail, and 2) determining what Manitoba's CVO can offer other jurisdictions about the role of public policy and public-sector workers in the promotion of humane jobs, animal welfare, and workers' rights.

This conclusion addresses these questions more in detail. This section also provides recommendations for the proposed re-evaluation of Manitoba's Animal Health and Welfare Program in continuing to promote multi-species well-being and strengthen animal cruelty

investigations throughout the province. In identifying strengths and weaknesses of Manitoba's public approach, this section concludes with discussion of the future trajectory of public animal cruelty investigation work in Canada.

Understanding Manitoba's CVO and its Workers

Through this research, data on Manitoba's CVO and the enforcement of the Animal Care Act has been collected (see Chapter 5: CVO Fundamentals). More importantly, through presentation of the key findings, this study has outlined the work-lives of APOs and animal protection work in Manitoba, with the joint goal of strengthening investigation work and promoting multi-species well-being. Accordingly, this section continues by utilizing these key findings in suggesting future recommendations for Manitoba's CVO.

Manitoba's CVO has been considering a re-evaluation of the Animal Welfare Program, its services, and delivery, seeking to improve enforcement and address the growing number of complaints it is receiving. In the interest of promoting both humane jobs and interspecies solidarity, this study outlines some of the work experience faced by APOs and identifies changes they would like to see, as well as my analysis of potential paths forward.

Recommendations

Recommendation #1: Increase APO training

Participants feel that the existing APO training is insufficient, and I agree. An eight-hour course is not enough for new APOs. It is leaving them feeling under-prepared and lengthening the process of helping animals who are in urgent need of care and intervention. Participants note that their previous work experience in supporting fields such as law enforcement, veterinary

care, and social work equips them with training and knowledge that is not provided through the CVO. Although this background knowledge helps APOs in their work, experiences and training vary among officers, and therefore cannot be considered a replacement for more comprehensive provincially provided training specific to animal cruelty investigations and the requirements of Manitoba's social and legal context.

More training can be provided, in part, through official ride-a-long programs where APOs can gain valuable on-the-job experience, which ideally will better prepare APOs in this unpredictable field, but this strategy would not be sufficient on its own. By implementing more detailed and expansive training procedures, the CVO in Manitoba has the potential to better prepare and protect officers, and to foster more humane jobs because workers would be more confident and better able to execute this work more thoroughly and consistently, which also would greatly impact the well-being of the animals. Increased training would improve the work-lives of APOs and their ability to execute investigations.

Recommendation #2: Improve mental healthcare for APOs

External APOs, being independent contractors, do not receive any mental health or counselling services through their work with the CVO. Internal APOs and contracted APOs through the WHS qualify for counselling services. However, these services are not adequate in addressing the specific needs of APOs who require tailored mental health supports as front-line officers. Currently, the CVO is working with the Psychological Association of Manitoba to identify and address conflicts in providing and accessing care for APOs. As one participant explains:

We're working on a project with them to first identify what services would be beneficial for first responders in the animal welfare field. And also identify some of the challenges – what are the user needs? And what kind of program would be optimal to develop? So, that's still much more research front-end – that's where we're at. But it's intended to build towards providing a more solid, kind of, protection for staff. Hopefully in the near future we'll have a more developed program that really meets the specific needs of people who are in enforcement and first responders.

A restructuring of these services should be carefully considered with the goal of better supporting APOs in the field. Strengthened counselling services should be considered for all officers appointed to enforce the Animal Care act, regardless of their title under the CVO (internal, external, or contracted through the WHS). Because the CVO relies heavily on these external APOs for all the animal cruelty investigations in areas throughout the province outside of central Winnipeg where the office is located, providing access to EFAP or another form of mental health counselling to these workers could be beneficial. Such services should be designed to assist APOs who witness a multitude of interspecies violence, cruelty, neglect, and mental illness throughout their work. With the goal of improving APO well-being, these services would be provided by therapists who have experience working with first responders to address the specialized needs of APOs.

Recommendation #3: Allocate uniforms and protective equipment to all APOs

Uniforms are important for identifying officers as enforcement personnel, thus limiting threats and increasing their safety and sense of security. However, given the various APO employment groups, APOs hired by the WHS are the only officers who wear uniforms. A lack of identification causes problems for APOs while conducting cruelty inspections. Rault et al. (2018) argue that the inconsistency in personal protective equipment for animal officers is a weakness of the Canadian enforcement system as it unnecessarily places officers at risk. Therefore, uniforms should be considered for *all* APOs enforcing the Animal Care Act that adequately identify officers as enforcement personnel to help improve the efficacy of inspections as well as a form of protection. According to information presented by the National Animal Care and Control Association (NACA), Rault et al. (2018) affirm that protective gear should be provincially mandated to protect them against threats to their safety. This would be beneficial in Manitoba. As APOs face an increased risk for physical harm and even death while enforcing provincial legislation, Manitoba's CVO, a government office, should not only mandate, but also provide APOs with uniforms with suitable protective equipment for officers.

Recommendation #4: Make all APOs internal employees

The earlier recommendations of increased training, improving mental health supports, and allocating uniforms to APOs are all part of a larger discussion of the efficacy of Manitoba's hybrid public-private delivery model. Although this model has some benefits from an administrative perspective, the employment distinctions between APOs lead to many inequities for these workers as addressed in the fifth key finding.

There is a clear need for APOs in more rural areas outside of Winnipeg's core, where the CVO office and the internal APOs are located; the entire province needs service. However, because these workers are independent contractors, they are exempt from benefits, uniforms and personal protective equipment, and union protection, which impacts their well-being at work. As explored in the third key finding, worker well-being affects their ability to conduct investigations. APO well-being is crucial for the longevity of their individual careers, as well as for the health of the animals they seek to help.

In this vein, a reconsideration of APO employee relations and structure would be valuable. More specifically, as internal officers are entitled to additional benefits, supports, and other union protections, making all APOs internal, public sector workers, would ideally improve APO well-being and improve investigation work overall. If APOs work in an environment where they are supported and feel respected, they will be better prepared to deal with this troubling and stressful nature of anti-cruelty work. Furthermore, APOs are highly skilled and invaluable to the success of this work. Given the CVO's reliance on these external, contracted workers for most investigation work in the province, re-structuring APO employment and equalizing all APOs would play an important role in strengthening animal protection work in Manitoba and improving working conditions.

Recommendation #5: Re-visit APO-police relations

Police officers are influential in the efficacy and safety of animal cruelty investigations in Manitoba, yet a large portion of human-centered officers are not aware of their enforcement powers as APOs under the Animal Care Act. Police officers, who can conduct investigations on their own, often re-direct complaints to APOs. Additionally, given the police's responsibility for

and focus on human issues, officers are not always available to assist APOs on investigations where police power and protection is needed. Therefore, APOs must either investigate alone, placing themselves at risk, or wait to investigate complaints, leaving animals and other humans vulnerable to abuse. In this regard, there is a clear need to revisit APO-police relations. More dialogue between the two organizations, including front-line officers, would help identify areas for strengthened collaboration.

One area of collaboration that requires attention is the lack of communication between the human and animal police databases. Currently, the CVO and WHS databases are separate from the CPIC database. Furthermore, human-centered police dispatchers are unable to share crucial information about respondent history to APOs prior to investigations. Rault et al. (2018) identify that in Alberta, animal officers are at increased risk of harm during investigations without communication and intelligence-sharing between agencies. This phenomenon is not unique to Alberta and is reiterated by participants in this study as well as in Coulter and Fitzgerald's (2016) research on OSPCA officers who are solely reliant on information shared by complainants. This information is often incomplete or incorrect, and thus places APOs at risk. With the goal of improving animal protection work and keeping APOs safe, sharing of pertinent case information between enforcement agencies is essential.

Manitoba's CVO identifies its vision as: "[p]rotecting animals, food and people" (Office of the Chief Veterinary Officer, 2007). Therefore, these recommendations should be considered at length in the future re-structuring of animal protection work in Manitoba to accomplish their goal long-term of protecting and improving human and animal well-being. These recommendations are proposed to strengthen animal protection work in Manitoba; however,

Manitoba, being a unique publicly-funded model, provides some key lessons for improving anti-cruelty work in other jurisdictions.

Key Lessons

The recommendations outlined above, although specific to Manitoba's CVO, are also salient in the larger conversation about animal cruelty investigation work. This study, as well as other existing research on animal cruelty investigation work (i.e., Arluke, 2004, 2006; Coulter, 2019a; Coulter & Fitzgerald, 2016; Rault et al., 2018), must be examined in detail to help determine the best paths forward for animal protection work in Edmonton, Ontario, Manitoba, and across Canada.

According to the Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF) (2017), Manitoba has some of the strongest animal protection laws in Canada. Considering Manitoba's Animal Care Act is relatively new in comparison to other provincial animal cruelty legislation, this success may be attributed, in part, to the province's public commitment to anti-cruelty work. In that regard, I highlight key lessons gathered from Manitoba's CVO for other jurisdictions. These lessons outline the benefits of a public approach to animal cruelty investigation work.

Lesson #1: Consistency in service delivery

As examined above, Manitoba's CVO provides a relatively holistic approach to multi-species well-being by addressing human and animal health and well-being concerns simultaneously. In line with improving multi-species well-being, Manitoba's CVO, being a government office, has more resources and officers to conduct and manage investigations. Charity-based models are reliant on volatile funding and are often de-centralized, leading to

inequities in service and lower levels of protection for more remote and rural regions (and, in some cases, even in large urban centres). Public enforcement systems increase the likelihood of providing more equitable services across regions, thereby better protecting animals and people regardless of where they live.

In contrast to charity-based models, Manitoba's CVO does not rely on donations to fund animal cruelty prevention work. The CVO receives over \$8 million in annual government funding for animal cruelty investigations. Therefore, this funding is quite substantial given the size and population of Manitoba and demonstrates that public funding of animal cruelty investigation is achievable in other jurisdictions. With public funding translating into more officers available to conduct investigations, the CVO is quite well-equipped to investigate all complaints of cruelty, although the high proportion of workers only conducting investigations on a part-time basis is less than ideal.

Lesson #2: The Animal Care Line

Manitoba's Animal Care Line, being a single phone number to report instances of cruelty across the province, is a valuable approach for streamlining and organizing complaints and administering appropriate resources. This line further ensures consistency in addressing animal cruelty complaints, which is crucial to the success of the Animal Welfare Program and thus, multi-species well-being. It facilitates the process of reporting for members of the public who do not have to sort through multiple phone numbers or web sites trying to determine who to contact. It also allows for an organized, centralized compilation and monitoring system within the CVO. Other jurisdictions would be well-served by reflecting on the value of centralized reporting and databases.

However, in keeping with a centralized reporting and database system, it is essential to consider the value of the Canadian Police Information Center (CPIC) in animal protection work. Considering human and animal violence often occur together, allowing the CVO access to important CPIC data would allow dispatchers to inform officers of whether police assistance is necessary during investigations. Participants identify a concern for their safety when responding to complaints where information on respondents is not known. Particularly given that Manitoba's animal cruelty enforcement and human enforcement are both public sector work, the sharing of such information should be allowed. Succinctly, the more information investigators have the better. This applies in all jurisdictions.

Lesson #3: APO work-lives and multi-species well-being

Coulter (2016) argues that in sectors like animal protection, when workers are well-treated, they will be better equipped to help the animals with/for whom they work. In comparison to charity-based animal protection models with limited funding and resources to conduct investigation work alone, public approaches are better positioned to increase service delivery, while also increasing financial and material benefits to front-line officers (e.g., benefits, adequate salary, better hours, etc.). However, given the inequities among the various work relations of APOs in Manitoba's model, eliminating reliance on independent contactors and equalizing working conditions among APOs, as suggested above in the fourth recommendation, would be a stronger and more effective approach. Equal pay and treatment for equal work is an important principle and practice.

Lesson #4: Providing a public good

As goods and services in the public sector have typically been reserved for humans (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Rock & Degeling, 2015), Manitoba's publicly-funded approach to animal cruelty enforcement sets an example in how we could better care for animals as part of the public good. As one participant notes:

We play a huge role in animal welfare and public service, and public good. And it is kind of a reward at the end of the day.

Manitoba's APOs view non-human animals as worthy of moral and legal protection and have a vested interest in their well-being. Participants acknowledge their ability to help animals and provide a public good gives them with job satisfaction and is thus influential to their own well-being as workers. This further translates into their ability to provide further care as outlined in lesson four. Additionally, in response to the link between human and animal well-being explored throughout this paper, the CVO, being a government office, has connections with other programs and services directed toward improving human health. This approach to interspecies care is made possible through more reliable funding and links between governmental departments that do not exist within charity-based models. As mentioned in the second key finding, human and animal health are often interdependent and should be addressed simultaneously to ensure the long-term health of both groups. Therefore, Manitoba's public approach to multi-species health and well-being is of great value. Including animal protection under the public umbrella not only demonstrates that

animals are part of society, but facilitates multispecies protection and health. It is both a practical and an ethical commitment.

Lesson #5: Allocation of funds

Although animal cruelty investigation funding is stable and relatively large given the province's population, financial resources still were still identified as a limitation to APOs in Manitoba conducting investigations in the public sector. As one officer discloses:

Finances are a limitation. I don't have a lot of experience with that...but, I know a lot of the reasons why we don't double up as APOs is for financial reasons. I mean, because they have a budget...

As explored earlier, partnered investigations would help promote the safety of APOs. Therefore, additional financial resources could be used to hire more APOs. Some officers raised the inclusion of animal cruelty investigations within the Ministry of Agriculture as a challenge, even in terms of how the ministry's current budget is allocated and distributed internally. Whether such work should be housed under a different ministry is worth exploring further.

Overall, public funding is a start, but *sufficient* public funding and allocation of funds are also imperative. When examining Manitoba's model, which is one kind of publicly-funded enforcement (a hybrid public-private delivery approach still subsidized by a charity), it is clear that publicly-funded enforcement does not cure all that ails this profession or automatically erase all the challenges. For instance, under Manitoba's approach, there are still challenges in both its structure (i.e., the different categories and inequities between APOs), as well as in some of the

details (insufficient training, lack of mental health supports, uniforms, etc.). A system with publicly-funded and fully publicly-*delivered* investigations remains a stronger option. There are many supportive roles for non-profits to play, but direct law enforcement and investigations are a public responsibility, in my view.

Moving Forward

Through this and other research on animal cruelty investigations, it has become clear that three groups are directly affected by animal cruelty: animals, their owners, and animal protection officers who execute this work. Additionally, the well-being of each member of these groups directly affects another. This has prompted me to propose the concept of the “triad of well-being”.

The financial, physical, and mental well-being of animal owners impacts their ability to care for their pets, thus affecting the pets’ well-being. Similarly, given the human-animal bond, owner well-being is negatively affected when their companion animals are ill. Animal protection officers who witness animal and human neglect are also greatly affected. The well-being of animal protection officers affects them personally and their ability to do their job, thus affecting the well-being of animals and their owners. As previously mentioned, an unwell animal is often accompanied by an unwell owner. Therefore, when an officer is unable to conduct anti-cruelty work because of a physical injury or stress and compassion fatigue, animals and their owners may be left without access to care. This connection is particularly salient when considering the violence-link between humans and animals, and situations when there is an urgent need for care.

This research shows that when the well-being of one of these members improves, the well-being of the others can benefit. Therefore, to eradicate a cycle of poor well-being, the needs

of both humans and animals must be considered. More specifically, although the concerns of each group differ, they are all important in addressing the overall triad of well-being and effectively improving the welfare of each member. Thus, in a sense, the triad is an extension of Coulter's (2016) interspecies solidarity which involves support despite differences to "foster better conditions for animals, improve people's work lives, and interweave human and animal well-being" (p.3). In addition to animal protection work, this concept provides a theoretical guideline to improve multi-species well-being in workplaces where humans and animals co-exist.

This points to larger socioeconomic and political issues including income security, access to physical and psychological health, and secure housing, and how human and animal well-being is entangled with social well-being and equity. Efforts to combat poverty and foster more solidaristic societies will benefit many vulnerable people and their animals.

Future Work

This thesis has identified baseline information about Manitoba's approach to animal cruelty investigations, and I have synthesized and analyzed the findings in order to identify key lessons for the province itself, and for other jurisdictions. More research is needed to deepen and expand our understanding of the model, including the role of dispatchers, animal care, and the potential role for forensic veterinarians.

Given the high percentage of indigenous peoples in Manitoba and ongoing reconciliation efforts, understanding more about settler-indigenous relations would also be beneficial and could identify ways to forge stronger relationships and partner for animal cruelty prevention. Notably,

gender and race did not emerge as key themes in my research, and additional study could deepen our understanding of these dynamics and their intersections.

Indeed, there is more to do and a need for greater recognition of animal wellbeing as worthy, first and foremost, of public investment, but also of how public programs can best serve workers and the public. As Coulter (2019c) explains, “[t]he wellbeing of animals is inextricably connected to the health of people and to public safety. Government investment in animal cruelty investigations is not just the ethical thing to do, it is smart public policy that benefits us all”. We owe more to the animal protection officers who risk their lives daily conducting this difficult work, and to animals who deserve better.

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Appendix A: Letter of Invitation

June 18, 2018

Title of Study: Protecting Animals and Humans: The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Animal Cruelty Investigation Work

Principal Investigator: Kendra Coulter, Associate Professor and Chancellor's Chair for Research Excellence

Department of Labour Studies

Brock University

kcoulter@brocku.ca 905-688-5550 ext. 5349

Student Principle Investigator: Brittany Campbell, M.A. Candidate

Social Justice and Equity Studies

Brock University

bcampbell3@brocku.ca

Employees of Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office (CVO);

My name is Brittany Campbell and I am an M.A. Candidate in the Department of Social Justice and Equity Studies at Brock University. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project entitled 'The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Care Across Species Lines'. The purpose of this research project is to examine the workers within Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office and their work in more detail. Additionally, this research aims to identify what lessons public-sector animal care can offer other jurisdictions.

Should you choose to participate, I would like to sit down with you for interview addressing your work within the Chief Veterinary Office. If you agree to participate, I will follow-up to finalize a time and date. The expected duration of your participation is approximately 1 hour.

This research should benefit workers within Manitoba's Chief Veterinary Office as it allows the opportunity to discuss areas of potential advancement in the workplace. Additionally, this information provides a baseline for understanding how animal care in Canada can be strengthened through a public approach.

This research has received financial support from the Social Justice Research Unit at Brock University.

If you have any pertinent questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Brock University Research Ethics Officer (905 688-5550 ext 3035, reb@brocku.ca)

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me (see below for contact information).

Thank you,

Brittany Campbell

M.A. Candidate

Social Justice and Equity Studies

Brock University

bc13ls@brocku.ca

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through Brock University's Research Ethics Board [File number 17-389]

Appendix B: Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE – “Protecting Animals and Humans: The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Animal Cruelty Investigation Work”

1. In your own words, can you please describe the Chief Veterinary Office, its mandate, goals, and services they provide?
 - a. How long has it been in existence?
2. From your perspective, what are some of the benefits of the CVO?
3. What are some of the limitations of the CVO?

4. Can you tell me about your current occupation or role within the CVO?
 - a. What is a typical day at work for you?
5. How long have you been employed with the CVO?
 - a. Were you employed in animal cruelty investigation or a similar field prior to working with the CVO?
 - b. If yes, how do your experiences at your old job differ from working at the CVO?

6. What do you like most about your job?
7. What do you dislike most about your job?
8. Do any specific instances stand out for you and why?
9. If you are comfortable, can you please comment on the compensation and benefits you receive as an animal cruelty investigator employed by the CVO?
10. What would you like to see addressed/changed within the CVO?
 - a. What would help improve your ability to do your job?

11. Are there any projected changes for the CVO?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share regarding your work within the CVO, or the CVO more broadly that was not addressed in this interview?
13. Only if I need to clarify something you said during this interview, may I have your permission to contact you for a follow-up phone call?

Appendix C: Letter of Informed Consent

Informed Consent Form (Confidentiality)

Date:

Project Title: Protecting Animals and Humans: The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Animal Cruelty Investigation Work

Principal Investigator (PI): Kendra Coulter, Associate Professor and Chancellor's Chair for Research Excellence
Department of Labour Studies
Brock University
kcoulter@brocku.ca 905-688-5550 ext. 5349

Student Principle Investigator: Brittany Campbell, M.A. Candidate
Social Justice and Equity Studies
Brock University
bc13ls@brocku.ca

INVITATION

You are invited to participate in a study that involves research. The purpose of this research is to understand how the public sector can impact both humans and animals by funding animal care work.

WHAT'S INVOLVED

As a participant, you will be asked to participate in an individual interview. Participation will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour of your time. The dialogue will be digitally (audio) recorded and then transcribed for use in a master's thesis.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND RISKS

Information on Manitoba's CVO is limited; therefore, this research seeks to build a public understanding of the CVO and their services. With a focus on examining how the public-sector can promote good work for human workers, while also increasing animal welfare and creating more equitable access to veterinary care, this research has the potential to help improve people's and animals' lives. Considering the CVO is small in size and numbers, participants risk confidentiality. However, as participants can choose what information to share and what to withhold, these risks are low.

CONFIDENTIALITY

You are afforded confidentiality. Your name and any other identifiers will not be included on the transcript or in any publications or presentations. Instead you will be assigned a pseudonym or your comments will be attributed to someone in your occupational field and geographic region only. Data collected during this study will be stored in a folder on both the student researcher and principal investigator's password protected personal computers. Transcripts and other corresponding materials will be deleted once the study is complete. Data will be kept for three years following completion of the project after which time all data will be deleted. Access to this data will be restricted to the student researcher and/or the principle investigator. **Please note:** There are limits to the confidentiality guaranteed if interviews are conducted within the CVO. Given the small sample size, it may be possible for your comments to be linked back to your identify. Interviews outside of the CVO are an option provided to participants to mitigate this risk.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary. You determine what you wish to share. If you wish, you may decline to answer any questions or to end the interview. If you wish to end the interview, the digital file will be deleted and your responses will not be shared.

PUBLICATION OF RESULTS

Results of this study may be published in professional journals and presented at conferences. Information will be publicly available online via the Brock University Digital Repository in the summer of 2019 for academic researches to verify research results. Results can also be accessed by contacting the PI via email or phone call (details listed at top of form).

CONTACT INFORMATION AND ETHICS CLEARANCE

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please contact Kendra Coulter using the contact information provided above. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Board at Brock University [File Number 17-389]. If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Research Ethics Office at (905) 688-5550 Ext. 3035, reb@brocku.ca.

Thank you for your assistance in this project. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this study described above. I have made this decision based on the information I have read in the Information-Consent Letter. I have had the opportunity to receive any additional details I wanted about the study and understand that I may ask questions in the future. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Informed Consent Form (No Confidentiality)

Date:

Project Title: Protecting Animals and Humans: The Role of the Public Sector in Improving Animal Cruelty Investigation Work

Principal Investigator (PI): Kendra Coulter, Associate Professor and Chancellor's Chair for Research Excellence
Department of Labour Studies
Brock University
kcoulter@brocku.ca 905-688-5550 ext. 5349

Student Principle Investigator: Brittany Campbell, M.A. Candidate
Social Justice and Equity Studies
Brock University
bc13ls@brocku.ca

INVITATION

You are invited to participate in a study that involves research. The purpose of this research is to understand how the public sector can impact both humans and animals by funding animal care work.

WHAT'S INVOLVED

As a participant, you will be asked to participate in an individual interview. Participation will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour of your time. The dialogue will be digitally (audio) recorded and then transcribed for use in a master's thesis.

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Information on Manitoba's CVO is limited; therefore, this research seeks to build a public understanding of the CVO and their services. With a focus on examining how the public-sector can promote good work for human workers, while also increasing animal welfare and creating more equitable access to veterinary care, this research has the potential to help improve people's and animals' lives. Considering the CVO is small in size and numbers, participants risk confidentiality. However, as participants can choose what information to share and what to withhold, these risks are low.

CONFIDENTIALITY

You are not afforded confidentiality. You understand that your comments may be attributed to you in publications and presentations. Your full name, title, and place of work can be used. Data collected during this study will be stored in a folder on both the student researcher and principal investigator's password protected personal computers. Transcripts and other corresponding materials will be deleted once the study is complete. Data will be kept for three years following completion of the project after which time all data will be deleted. Access to this data will be restricted to the student researcher and/or the principle investigator.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary. You determine what you wish to share. If you wish, you may decline to answer any questions or to end the interview. If you wish to end the interview, the digital file will be deleted and your responses will not be shared.

PUBLICATION OF RESULTS

Results of this study may be published in professional journals and presented at conferences. Information will be publicly available online via the Brock University Digital Repository in the summer of 2019 for academic researches to verify research results. Results can also be accessed by contacting the PI via email or phone call (details listed at top of form).

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If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please contact Kendra Coulter using the contact information provided above. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Board at Brock University [File Number 17-389]. If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Research Ethics Office at (905) 688-5550 Ext. 3035, reb@brocku.ca.

Thank you for your assistance in this project. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this study described above. I have made this decision based on the information I have read in the Information-Consent Letter. I have had the opportunity to receive any additional details I wanted about the study and understand that I may ask questions in the future. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D: Online Complaint Intake Form

Date of Complaint:
 Time of Complaint:
 Name of Recorder:
 Case # (if previously assigned):

COMPLAINANT INTAKE FORM



Thank you for reporting a potential animal welfare concern. Any personal information on this form is protected by the Protection and Privacy provisions of *The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (FIPPA). This report will remain confidential.

Date(s) concern witnessed:			
COMPLAINANT INFORMATION			
Name			
Mailing Address:			
Address	City/Town	Province	Postal Code
Physical Address:			
<input type="checkbox"/> Physical Address is same as Mailing Address.			
Address	City/Town	Province	Postal Code
Home Phone ()	Cell Phone ()	Business Phone ()	
Email:			
Directions to Location (Be as specific as possible)			
ANIMAL OWNER INFORMATION (IF KNOWN)			
Name			
Mailing Address:			
Address	City/Town	Province	Postal Code
Physical Address:			
<input type="checkbox"/> Physical Address is same as Mailing Address.			
Address	City/Town	Province	Postal Code
Home Phone ()	Cell Phone ()	Business Phone ()	
Email:			
Location of animals (Street Address/Civic Address /Legal land description)			

Case #:

PROPERTY OWNER INFORMATION (IF KNOWN)

Name _____

Mailing Address:

Address _____ City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

Physical Address:☐ Physical Address is same as Mailing Address.

Address _____ City/Town _____ Province _____ Postal Code _____

Home Phone

()

Cell Phone

()

Business Phone

()

Email: _____

Location of animals (Street Address/Civic Address /Legal land description) _____

ANIMAL INFORMATION

Please indicate the type and number of animals.



Dogs _____



Cats _____



Cattle _____



Buffalo _____



Goats _____



Sheep _____



Horses _____



Donkeys/Mules _____



Swine _____



Poultry _____



Wildlife _____



Zoo/Exotic _____

Other _____

Description of Animals (Breed/Age/Sex/Behaviour/Colour) _____

NATURE OF CONCERN:

Do you suspect an animal is (Please check box)

☐

lacking adequate food and water

☐

exposed to extreme cold or heat

☐

not provided with suitable medical attention if wounded or ill

☐

confined in an area of insufficient space

☐

kept in unsanitary conditions

☐

abandoned

☐

confined without adequate ventilation

☐

not allowed an opportunity for sufficient exercise

☐

suffering, seriously injured or in extreme anxiety or distress

☐

from an unlicensed breeding premises, kennel, pound/shelter, pet store

☐

other (please specify) _____

Case #:

Please provide a brief explanation of what you observed. If the inspector needs further details, you will be contacted. You may also be requested to provide evidence during prosecution.